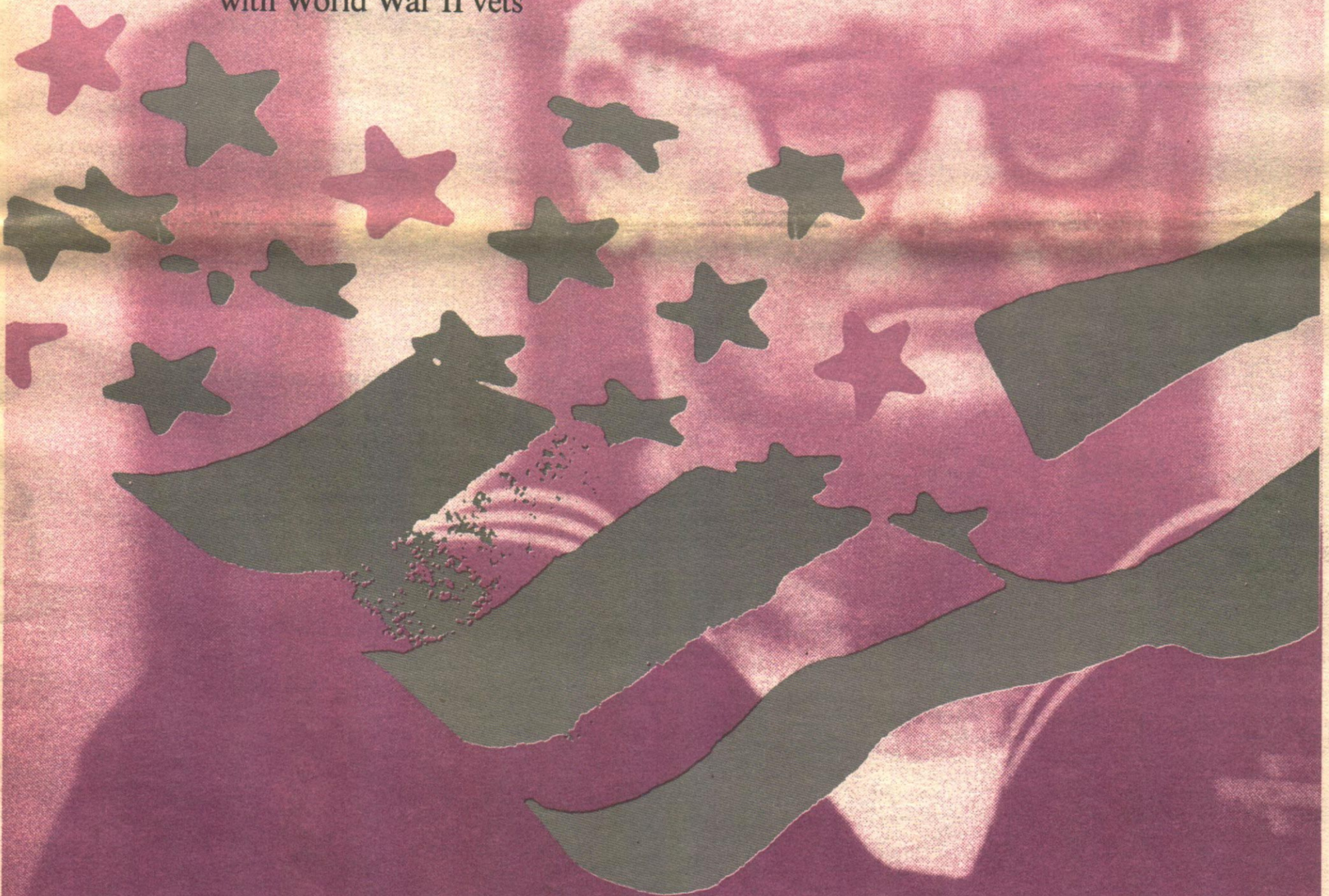


Page 6

WILL THE U.S. DESERT G.I. JOE?

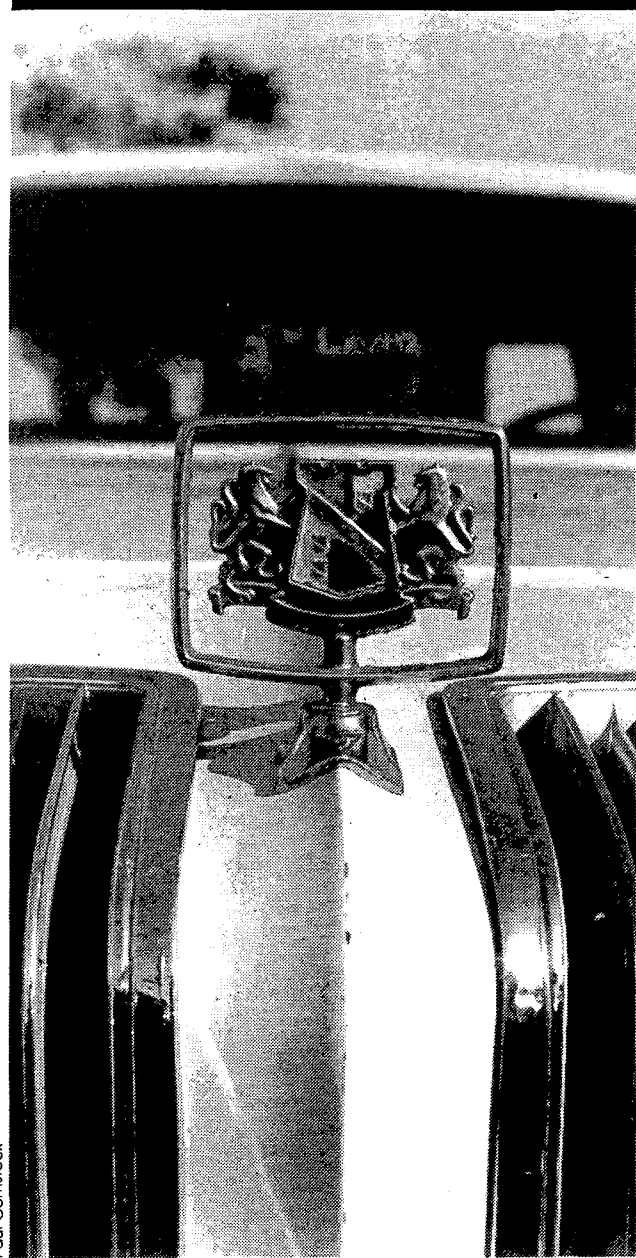
The Veterans Administration may
soon be swamped
with World War II vets



Page 3

OPEC: DROWNING IN ITS OWN OIL

THE INSIDE STORY



At Chrysler, UAW faces tough choices

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

Chrysler is making its comeback. Chrysler workers want theirs. That's the simple version of the unprecedented rejection of the union's tentative contract by 70 percent of voting Chrysler workers.

When Chrysler UAW members made the first of three contract concessions to save the company in the fall of 1979, they were assured by union leaders that the givebacks were tolerable only because Chrysler would return to parity with GM and Ford workers by the end of the contract. But in negotiating the Chrysler loan guarantee, the UAW agreed to two further concessions—raising the total to \$1.1 billion and leading the union down a slippery bargaining path.

By contract time this fall, no Chrysler workers had hopes of closing the \$2.60 an hour wage-and-benefit gap with Ford and GM, but they were disappointed when negotiators brought back only a bonus plan tied to company quarterly profits and restoration of cost-of-living adjustments.

Even worse to many workers, the new contract included more concessions. Probably the most irksome was harsh plans to punish absenteeism. Several local Chrysler officials indicated that the contract might have been narrowly approved had it not been for such losses of rights and protection in the new contract.

Faced with the strong rejection vote and Chrysler's refusal to offer anything more, the union's leaders declined to call a strike, the normal procedure. Instead, they offered a referendum on a choice between striking on November 1 or recessing negotiations until sometime in January, clearly the preference of the leadership. Last week the workers decided to wait.

The Chrysler bailout has been a great success—by one standard. Through an orderly equivalent of bankruptcy and the intervention of the government to force concessions from workers, bankers and suppliers as well as to guarantee loans, the federal government saved the Chrysler corporation. But the loan guarantee was sold at the time as a way to save jobs. On that count it has been less successful.

Roughly 60 percent of the 1978 workforce has now been trimmed from the Chrysler rolls. Twenty factories have been closed. Most foreign operations and many subsidiaries have been sold. The break-even production level dropped from 2.4 million cars a year to 1.1 million. According to auto analyst David Eisenberg of Sanford C. Bernstein and Co., despite the proportionately much higher pension costs at Chrysler, the company maintains a \$1.50-an-hour cost edge over GM. It has also kept up with GM in deployment of robots and may be ahead of competition in linking computer-aided design to computer-aided manufacturing, he says. Its new van plant in Windsor, Ontario, will be as automated and technologically advanced as any factory in the North American industry.

Through such consolidation and modernization, financed by concessions and sales of assets, Chrysler has been able to make slim profits this year—\$18 million on operations for the first six months of the year, not counting \$239 million profit realized on the sale of Chrysler Defense. The company has accumulated reserves of \$1 billion, giving it a very comfortable cash cushion. This progress has occurred despite the deep slump in auto sales and despite Chrysler's slight slip in its share of the market this year after strong gains in 1981.

Most important, even assuming only modest recovery for the industry, auto analysts are predicting that next year Chrysler will easily make \$300 million in profits, perhaps \$400 million.

Chairman Lee Iacocca's bragging about the billion-dollar reserve may have fueled union members' anger at not getting a raise, but it is their share of the expected profit that is more at issue. A raise of \$1.15 an hour—higher than most workers now expect but roughly equivalent to their first concession—would cost the company about \$115 million next year.

Keeping that money for stockholders rather than restoring it to workers might boost the value of Chrysler stock some more and make the company a more attractive partner for an international merger that would put it back in the big leagues. But once again the workers would be asked to bail out the corporation, not save their jobs or protect their living standards.

More trimming.

Indeed, Eisenberg predicts that Chrysler will trim further plants as it consolidates and integrates its production, and the expected flood of robots will further reduce jobs—all obligingly financed by Chrysler worker restraint. Many autoworkers probably agree that despite the rough conditions in many auto plants, their jobs are worth something, especially in this near-depression. But the contract does not assure them that those jobs will be around.

Chrysler claims it needs \$6.6 billion over five years for its retooling, much of which has already occurred while the company has reported losses. Local union president Bob Weissman, an advocate of an immediate wage hike, argues that "even if Chrysler workers worked for nothing, we couldn't provide the capital needed for investment. They either get that through

merger, new debt or new equity issues. Whether we get \$100 million a year or not makes no difference in whether they can raise \$6.6 billion."

But the fear of Chrysler bankruptcy intimidates many union leaders and members. Manny Shane, a member of the negotiating committee, says, "I would love to get a pay raise. But I would like to have a place to go back to. I don't want to give up 25 years at age 50. It may be blackmail. Call it what you will."

If the UAW had approached Chrysler in a different way, it might have avoided some of its present difficulties. Nearly all the pre-contract talk from the union was intended to soften up the membership, not lay down the ultimatum to Chrysler, the usual union tactic. So Chrysler knew that they could easily resist such negotiators and even get them to agree to further concessions.

But even without winning huge pay increases, the union could have fought for greater control as well as substantial job security. "For \$1.6 billion Allied Corp. got 100 percent control over Bendix forever," says Harley Shaiken of MIT. "Chrysler workers have given \$1 billion. They should get some control for that."

Missed opportunities.

The contract could have initiated worker control over plant location, investment and introduction of new technology—steps to an institutionalized voice that goes beyond the weak moratorium on plant closings in the GM and Ford agreements and the symbolic role of union President Doug Fraser on the Chrysler board. Instead of increasing management's authoritarian hand to fight absenteeism, the union could have demanded greater worker control on the job as a way of making work more attractive.

Such initiatives could have been linked with a concerted effort by the union to mobilize its members' voting power through the employee stock-ownership plan, which already holds 15 percent of Chrysler stock and will probably rise to at least 25 percent in two years.

There are risks in such union forays into management. Many UAW militants reject such a strategy in favor of simply fighting for fatter contracts and leaving managing to the bosses. On the other hand, many in the UAW leadership seem to be drifting toward the Japanese style of unionism, with its strong defense of the individual corporation and cooperation through wage restraint and joint union-management discipline of the workplace.

Last February, Professor Robert E. Cole, an expert on Japanese workers, told UAW production workers how the non-combative Japanese auto unions had over the years persuaded their members to forgo wage increases to help their corporate employers, routinely cooperated with management in governing the workers and showed forcefulness only in defense of job security for the core group of workers. The UAW has regularly attacked that union strategy as leading to underpaid workers who may strengthen Japanese auto companies but only at the expense of Japanese and American autoworkers.

The UAW's task at Chrysler was never easy. It is made tougher by public relations burdens—bargaining with a publicly bailed-out company, wanting to show statesmanlike restraint to please politicians who will vote on local content legislation. The internal jockeying for succession to Fraser, now at a high pitch, may also work against strong leadership. But at a time when UAW leaders are railing against importing Japanese cars, it would be a shame if pressures on them led to importing Japanese unionism.

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by Mid-America Publishing Co., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444.

PUBLISHERS

William Sennett

James Weinstein

EDITORIAL

Editor

James Weinstein

Associate Editors

John Judis,
David Moberg

Managing Editor

Sheryl Larson

Acting Feature Editor

Virginia Holbert

European Editor

Diana Johnstone

Acting Assistant Managing Editor

Jay Walljasper

Staff: Emily Young, Editorial Assistant;
Jay Walljasper, Emily Young, Books
Editors.

Correspondents:

Pat Aufderheide
(Cultural), Timothy Lange (Denver), David
Mandel (Jerusalem), James North
(Southern Africa).

West Coast Bureau: Thomas Brom, 1419
Broadway #702, Oakland, CA 94612,
(415) 834-3015 or 531-5573.

Washington Bureau: John Judis, (301)
942-8588

ART

Co-Directors

Ann Tyler, Dolores Wilber

Assistant Art Directors

Paul Comstock, Nicole Ferentz

Composition

Jim Rinnert, Diane Scott

BUSINESS

Associate Publisher

Elizabeth Goldstein

Controller

Bruce Kaplan

Circulation Director Advertising Director
Pat VanderMeer Bill Rehm

Staff: Grace Faustino, Bookkeeper;
Leenie Folsom, Assistant Circulation
Director; Adelia Price, Circulation
Assistant; Beth Maschinot, Classified
Advertising; Bruce Embrey, Development
Assistant; Paul Baitsas, Dennis Morgan,
Alan Simmons, Fulfillment Assistants;
Kathleen Gallagher, Office Manager.

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright © 1982 by Mid-America Publishing Co., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$23.50 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$35.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

This issue (Vol. 6, No. 42) published November 3, 1982 for newsstand sales November 3-9, 1982.

IN THESE TIMES

Oil prices could plunge to new low

By Daniel Luzare

NEW YORK

IF YOU HAD ASKED THE AVERAGE business executive a couple of years ago to imagine that there would come a time when inflation would drop below 3 percent, oil prices would be dropping and OPEC would be at the point of breaking up, he probably would have refused. "Why bother with something that's too good to be true?" he might have replied. "Everyone knows the world is running out of oil, so prices have only one way to go—and that's up."

Well, the impossible has arrived.

In September, the consumer price index (calculated on an annual basis) stood at just 2.4 percent. The price of imported crude, meanwhile, has fallen 14 percent over the last year, with promises of a comparable drop next spring. OPEC appears to be cracking under the financial strain, with some members calling for the sparsely populated, ultra-wealthy Persian Gulf states of Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia to break away from Nigeria, Algeria, Iran, Libya and Venezuela to form their own mini-OPEC.

Moreover, two leading economic analysts of the oil industry maintain that there is a significant chance of a genuine tumble in oil prices—down to as low as even \$5 to \$10 a barrel. In real-money terms, this would return prices to the level of the early '70s, when Americans toiled around in cars the size and shape of cabin cruisers and gasoline was regarded as one of nature's constants, like air or water.

But while most of American business fairly drools with delight at the prospect, a few cooler heads realize that a drop of that magnitude would actually be an economic disaster—a signal that the current "quasi-depression" (the term recently coined by one prominent Wall Street economist) is over and that World Depression II has just begun.

A major collapse in oil prices would cause the big Mideast producers to drastically rein in their spending, sending immense shock waves through the international financial system. It would remove the last vestige of hope that heavily indebted oil producers such as Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela and Libya will ever pay back their loans. And while, in the short run, it might result in improvements in the balance of payments of non-oil Third World nations—which have paid dearly for the increased price of oil—it would hurt them more in the end by forcing banks to tighten up further in their lending practices and by generally depressing even more prices of agricultural commodities and raw materials. The switch from the seller's market of the '70s to the buyer's market of the '80s would mean that commodity purchasers, encouraged by a collapse in oil prices, would demand comparable concessions from their own suppliers.

Philip Verleger of Booz Allen & Hamilton, the management consulting firm, is one oil analyst who has been warning for some time that the ride down in the price of oil will be a lot worse than the wild ride up. Walter J. Levy, regarded as something of a professor emeritus among oil economists, has also been telling a skeptical business community that a united OPEC and a strong oil market is to their advantage. But even if they agreed, there would be little they could do to halt the slide.

It is hard to say who would be the greater victim of this most supreme of ironies represented by an oil-price tumble—big business, whose usual reaction

to any sign of weakness by OPEC is pure and unmitigated joy, or, on the liberal side, the environmentalists, who have generally swallowed hook, line and sinker the myth of vanishing resources and spiralling costs, which overlooks the fact that economics and technology can overcome geology.

Solar energy has been on the defensive since energy prices started to fall. Major firms that have abandoned solar projects this year include Exxon, Olin Brass, Libby-Owens-Ford and Standard Oil of California, according to a congressional study. In Menlo Park, Calif., FAFCO Inc., the nation's largest producer of solar panels, reports that production has fallen two-thirds since 1980 because of the world oil glut. "We know of major solar projects in California that were close to financing but fell through...once oil prices started dropping," said John Wilson, executive director of the Renewable Energy Institute in Washington, D.C. Observed one California dealer in solar equipment: "Never has there been such a dramatic rise of an industry followed by such a dramatic fall."

The conservative free-marketeers, who cheered when Reagan speeded up deregulation of oil and natural gas, will also get their comeuppance if the decline in prices gets out of hand. Herman Kahn

chain of business reversals and bankruptcies that further fed the decline. It was a classic case of over-production. Exxon, deciding that it was over-extended, dismantled a few months ago its immense Bayway refinery in Elizabeth, N.J. *Petroleum Economist* magazine reports that the world-oil tanker fleet has been shaved by 3 percent in the first half of the year because of reduced demand.

Nowhere, though, has the bust been more catastrophic than in domestic drilling in the lower 48 states. The Southwest sprouted thousands of new oil rigs in 1979-81, giving birth to hundreds of small rig-building and equipment firms, and causing business to nearly double over the three-year period to \$31.7 billion.

Then came the crash in the spring and summer of this year. More than half the 5,400 land rigs in the Southwest and West were closed down; their owners are now cannibalizing them for spare parts. Meanwhile, rig-builders who had hoped to fill thousands of orders in 1982 now expect to fill only 10 or 20 in the latter half of the year. Two major oil equipment firms, Nucorp Energy and Dreco Energy Services, declared bankruptcy.

Penn Square Bank, with \$2 billion in debts, is the most notable casualty so far. The most notable near-casualty is Continental Illinois of Chicago, the sixth largest bank in the nation, which has been on the financial sicklist ever since it became known that it was owed \$133 million by Nucorp and Dreco and \$1 billion by Penn Square.

The story is much the same in Canada with Dome Petroleum, the \$8-billion, semi-government corporation that ex-

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE and the much smaller principalities of Oman, Qatar and Bahrain—the 1982 surplus is still projected at a not-too-bad \$35 billion. But for members like Algeria, Libya, Iran, Nigeria and Venezuela, which are more populated and therefore with much greater domestic needs, the drop in OPEC's fortunes this year means a \$27-billion deficit.

The consequence has been to drive a wedge between the financially strained producers in Africa and Latin America and the Persian Gulf principalities, with their huge reserves and comparatively tiny populations. Libya and Iran, perhaps the two most aggressive price-setters in the '70s, have turned into the most aggressive price-cutters of the early '80s. They have had little choice.

Libya saw its oil revenues plummet from \$21 billion in 1980 to a measly \$3

The ride down may be a lot worse than the wild ride up.

billion in the first half of this year because it insisted—in defiance of all economic logic—on sticking to its price of \$39 a barrel. Now it is discounting with a vengeance.

Similarly, Iran is feeling the financial pinch of its two-year war with Iraq, with one European banking journal citing reports that Iran has used up its \$1.5 billion in foreign reserves, that it is selling



A major collapse in oil prices would cause the big Mideast producers to drastically rein in their spending, sending shock waves through the international financial system.

and William M. Brown correctly predicted in *Fortune* in July 1980 that OPEC would soon lose its grip on the world market, while *Harper's* happily trumpeted in a cover story a year later that "The Energy Crisis is Over." Both were right, but both could easily be betrayed by events in the coming months.

The changes in the fortunes of oil are a dramatic illustration of the instability inherent in the capitalist marketplace—its short-term efficiency notwithstanding. The effect of the "oil shocks" of 1973-74 and 1979-80 was to funnel investment into the energy sector. Refineries were expanded, oil tankers were built, and, following Reagan's deregulation, work was resumed on thousands of wells in the continental U.S., which had previously been considered uneconomical because of low prices.

Industrial production in this country fell in 1979, rebounded in 1980 and fell again in 1981. Demand for oil slackened, causing prices to drop and setting off a

panded furiously on the crest of the oil boom but was virtually bankrupt by the time its bankers put together a rescue plan last month. Meanwhile, the five major U.S. oil firms—Exxon, Gulf, Mobil, Standard of California and Texaco, names that used to be synonymous with unlimited wealth and power—now report a colossal 44-percent drop in earnings for the first half of the year compared to the same period in 1981.

For OPEC, the decision to raise the "benchmark" price of Arabian Light from \$32 to \$34 in October 1981 has proved a disaster. The increase was pushed through as the market was in full-scale retreat, with predictable consequences: while world production for the first half of 1982 fell 8 percent, OPEC's dropped 23 percent.

OPEC's total financial surplus, which reached a whopping \$275 billion in 1980, is projected at only \$8 billion for 1982, according to *Petroleum Economist*.

For the Persian Gulf producers—

off gold through West German and Swiss traders and that the war is costing it \$200 million a month. It is no surprise, therefore, that Iran is now underselling Saudi Arabia by \$4 to \$6 a barrel and is pumping 2.5 million barrels a day—better than twice the level it agreed upon with OPEC.

Improper behavior.

Needless to say, this is not the way an effective international cartel behaves, and oil analysts in New York and Washington say they tend to believe reports that Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE and the other Gulf states are about to engage in some price cutting of their own to impose a measure of discipline in the ranks. Retaliation would come by the spring, when demand usually turns slack, in the form of a price cut of \$2 to \$6 a barrel and a substantial hike in production (the Saudis are presently pumping 5 million barrels a day, half their

Continued on page 10

IN SHORT

The winter of our disconnect

With many meteorologists predicting that this winter will top even the last year's for Arctic temperatures, a consumer group estimates that more than 300,000 households will be left without heat in the coming months because of gas shut-offs. And that covers only the 60 percent of U.S. homes heated by natural gas. Other folks will be left out in the cold due to electricity shut-offs and stopped heating oil deliveries.

According to the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition (CLEC), 25 percent more households will be without gas heat this winter than last. "It won't just be the poorest people who will lose their heat this winter," said William R. Hutton, Executive Director of the National Council of Senior Citizens. "As the recession deepens and as natural gas price increases continue, the working poor, senior citizens and the growing number of unemployed all face the terror of winter days without heat."

In Louisville, according to CLEC, 100 homes a day are already being disconnected for non-payment of bills. The group urged that all further natural gas decontrol measures be stopped in Congress and that states enact laws against gas shut-offs during winter months. But even in Minnesota, where disconnections are prohibited during the coldest half of the year, some people still face a heatless winter because their gas bills were not paid up by the October 15 deadline.

Pennies for their thoughts

At the Tri-County Fair in Northampton, Mass., this fall, volunteers from local peace organizations conducted a delightfully unscientific poll on national priorities, reports Victoria Safford. All passers-by were encouraged to put their four-cents worth into five glass jars representing major public programs. The peace groups even provided the pennies and 2,000 fairgoers pitched in. The final tally: Education, \$36.43; Health Care, \$31.43; Construction, \$12.37; Mass Transit, \$10.30; the Military \$9.18.

S.F. labor parades its unity

A united San Francisco Bay Area labor movement turned out about 70,000 trade unionists and supporters for a Jobs and Justice parade down Market Street October 24, reports Thomas Brom. Four times larger than anticipated, the march was the biggest San Francisco labor parade in 34 years, with contingents representing everyone from the piledrivers to the seafarers. Led by AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and Screen Actors' Guild president Ed Asner, the march was really a belated Labor Day parade postponed to coincide with the November 2 elections. The San Francisco Labor Council, which abandoned Labor Day parades in the '50s, spent \$20,000 on the march and now plans to institute it as an annual event.

"We are here to show the unity of the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters and the Longshoremen," said Jack Henning, secretary of the state AFL-CIO. "And we are here to drive from office those who have surrendered the government to the corporations."

Equal opportunity destroyer

"Everyone stands equal in front of a nuclear weapon. A nuclear bomb is an equal opportunity destroyer," Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), a member of the House Armed Services Committee and the Black Congressional Caucus, told a meeting of black Democrats in Dallas recently. "Militarism is inappropriate in the '80s when two-thirds of the world's population lives in abject poverty," Dellums said. "Twelve million children die every year of starvation and most of them are black and brown." Arguing that the disarmament campaign should not be allowed to become a white, middle-class movement, he pointed out even at the height of the Southern civil rights struggles Martin Luther King considered it important for blacks to speak out against the arms race.

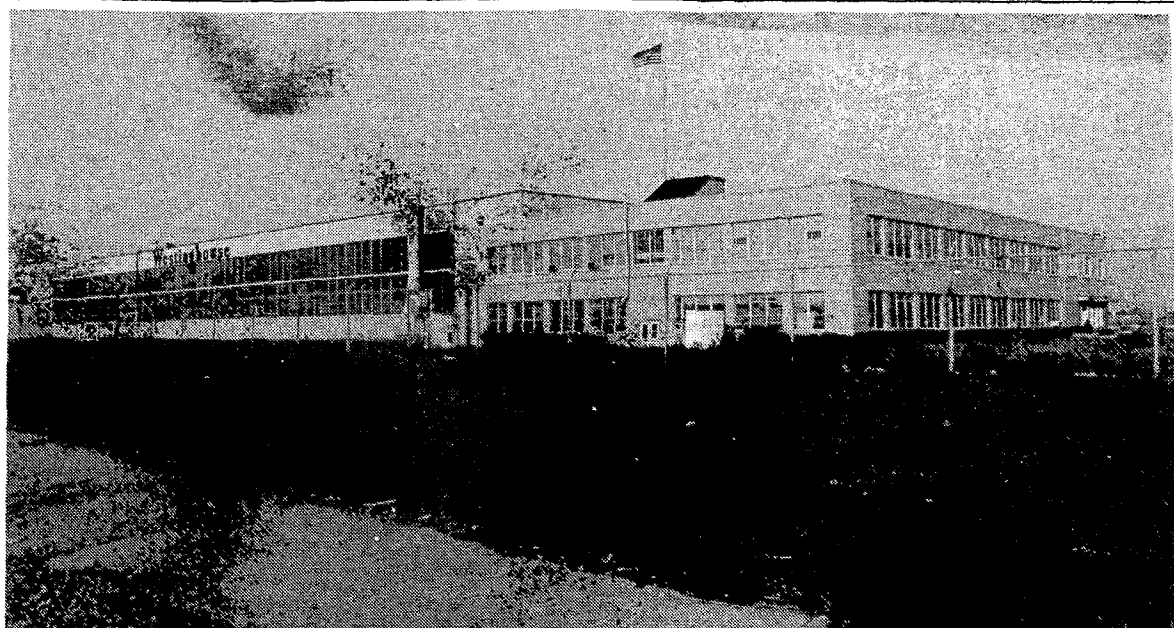
Bedtime scary tales

If you value a good night's sleep these are facts *not* to mull over in the wee hours of the evening amid the downy comfort of your bed:

- The U.S. military incurred 125 accidents involving nuclear weapons between the end of World War II and 1976, of which 27 were deemed "major."
- During 1979 and 1980, the system used to detect Soviet attacks malfunctioned three times; twice bombers were launched toward targets in the Soviet Union.
- The M-1 tank—which is supposed to bolster U.S. capabilities in a conventional war, thereby reducing our dependence on nuclear weapons—averaged less than a hundred miles between mechanical breakdowns during tests.

And Pentagon partisans can't brush aside this information as peace movement propaganda. They come from *Defense or Delusion* (Harper & Row, 1982), a new book by Thomas Etzold, a professor of strategy in the Naval War College who argues in favor of a military buildup.

—Jay Walljasper



In Chicago the Westinghouse contract negotiated by electrical unions provides improved plant-shutdown benefits, but local union officials worry that the company will leave a token operation in place to avoid paying benefits.

Westinghouse plant heads for the south

CHICAGO—Some factories may move overseas or run away to other parts of the country. But others just dribble away.

That's what the 225 workers at a Westinghouse service and manufacturing center on Chicago's southwest side fear is happening to their long-established, still-profitable plant. Three years ago Westinghouse opened a new facility in Fayetteville, N.C., where non-union workers make an estimated \$6 an hour compared to \$8.50-\$11 an hour earned by members of the United Electric (UE) workers and an independent office workers union at the Chicago plant.

"Things were going well then," Lee DeChatelet, president of the office workers union, said. "There seemed to be enough work to go around." But the company gradually began shifting machinery to Fayetteville. The move south accelerated as the recession weakened markets for the motor parts made at both plants.

"Piece by piece they've been moving it out," Samuel Minniefield, UE Local 1105 president, said. "When they moved the big punch presses, our problems with layoffs started. Now there are 200 on layoff."

The factory's most profitable section was recently moved,

which makes the Chicago plant appear to be less viable than it really is, union leaders charge. The company is now undertaking a study of the old plant, which is located on a large tract of land that Westinghouse could have expanded to twice the present size instead of constructing the new North Carolina facility. Union officials say such studies have preceded shutdowns elsewhere.

The Westinghouse contract negotiated by electrical unions last summer provides improved plant-shutdown benefits, but local union officials fear that Westinghouse will close the plant very slowly or even leave a to-

ken operation in place to avoid paying the benefits, which included retraining.

Many of the workers, half of whom are black or Hispanic, are late middle-aged employees who have served Westinghouse for decades. Doris, a 57-year-old worker, who felt that management had paid little attention to quality or efficiency in the plant, feared that she would lose her job before she could qualify for full social security and Medicare payments. She and the rest of the day shift listened as a small group of predominantly left-leaning local political candidates spoke at a recent plant-gate rally, but she was skeptical about what they or her union could do.

"In the long run I think it's going to close," she said. "We'd like to stop it, but I don't think we can. It's gone too far." —David Moberg

FEMA ducks nuke protest

PORTLAND, ORE—The Reagan administration's \$4.2 billion plan to resurrect the nation's civil defense program—that old notion, abandoned two decades ago, that we can hide from nuclear holocaust by crawling into the basement—came under another attack last month (*In These Times*, Oct. 20) as several hundred of the nation's state and municipal emergency planners descended on Portland for the

annual conference of the U.S. Civil Defense Council. Although these disaster planners spent most of their Oregon stay discussing chemical spills, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and other non-military disasters, Reagan's civil defense program quickly emerged as the hot topic of the five-day conference.

A coalition of local peace advocates, calling themselves "Civil Defense Through Disarmament" set up informational picket lines, staged "die-ins" and orchestrated other actions during the conference. They asserted that bomb shelters and evacuation plans not only are a waste of tax-



Eight hundred people marched outside the Great Lakes Naval Training Center at North Chicago, Ill., October 23 to protest military meddling in Central America, reports Dan La Botz. The event was organized as one link in a nationwide chain of protests that week, which included actions in New York, California, Washington, D.C., Missouri, Arkansas and South Dakota. Besides the usual chants and speeches, marchers at the Great Lakes Center distributed leaflets as part of an ongoing campaign to inform sailors at the installation about the U.S. role in international affairs. According to Jeri Seese-Green, who lives four blocks from the base, several service personnel in civilian clothes were among the marchers. "They're taking a very courageous stand by being here," she said. "They've already been told they'll work midnights and extra hours for doing so." (Above and right)

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

payers' money, but also, by convincing the public that nuclear war can be survived and won, make the inferno more likely.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which oversees local efforts to plan for the apocalypse, and which was scheduled to lead several workshops at the conference, did not take such assaults standing up. FEMA's response to the imminent volleys of renewed criticism at the conference was reminiscent of those old "Duck and Cover" civil defense drills from the '50s. Late last month, to the amazement of conference organizers and peace activists alike, the agency simply withdrew from the schedule. "We see this developing into a media event," explained FEMA public affairs director Jim Holton. "We have learned that there will be sessions that we calculate are going to draw unnecessary attention from the press. There's no point in us trying to defend these programs because the decision has already been made by Congress to fund them."

—Peter Dammann

Dow Jones up, union down

NEW YORK—Dow Jones and Company, publishers of the *Wall Street Journal*, not only preaches a philosophy of labor relations that warms such conservatives' hearts, but also practices it. Back in 1937 when the youthful American Newspaper Guild threatened to disturb the domestic tranquility down at the *Journal* by attempting to organize the news staff, some loyal employees rallied around the company flag and formed an in-house union, the Dow Jones Employees Association.

Since then the *Journal* has become the largest daily newspaper in the U.S. and Dow Jones is as large as many of the corporations it reports on. Meanwhile the house union, enigmatically renamed The Independent Association of Publishers' Employees (IAPE), has been a model of passive unionism—a situation some *Journal* staffers would like to change.

According to IAPE's critics, the company exercises undue power over the destinies of

union's amateur leadership, none of whom receive pay from the IAPE. In a famous 1977 case the two co-chairmen of a bargaining committee were promoted to positions in management soon after persuading the membership to accept an unpopular contract. That same year an active union representative in Chicago was dismissed for refusing to transfer to New Jersey on one week's notice in 1977—an action about which the Unemployment Claims Adjudicator for Illinois said, "it is reasonable to assume that the claimant was dismissed for union activity."

Asked about such goings on, George Kennedy, president of IAPE since 1975, maintained it is natural that the attention of the company should be attracted by talent displayed at the bargaining table, and that they should also notice if some union representatives were evidently "schmucks."

The newspaper's grievance process is also plagued by similar conflict of interest problems, according to some union dissidents. Jeanette Labelson, part-time chairman of the grievance committee in New York until she was suddenly removed October 1, publicly said that the IAPE leadership "doesn't want vigorous resolution of grievances."

IAPE leaders insist that there is no need for a change of representation, pointing to good wages and benefits secured by the union. And a Newspaper Guild official concedes "there has never been a broad-based desire for affiliation at the *Journal*," partly because of the Guild's higher dues.

But the most vocal of the IAPE critics, Eric Frankland, a copy editor in New York, has begun production—at his own expense—of a dissidents' newsletter. He was forced to take the union to court twice over access to a mailing list of the members, to which he is legally entitled since IAPE is organized under New York State's not-for-profit corporation law. In 1972 Frankland forced IAPE to hold its first election and in 1976 he brought about the introduction of mailed ballots after an appeal to the Labor Board caused a rerun of the national election. Frankland and other dissidents now regularly take more than 40 percent of the vote at union elections.

—Jonathan Birchall



Arlis Dockendorf

Briefing: Solar energy's future

"Hi, I'm Grace Slick. In 1983 the government will spend more money on military marching bands than on solar development and energy conservation..."

In early May, Radio Organized for Solar Energy—ROSE—hit the nation's airwaves with messages such as this. An attempt to focus attention on the Reagan administration's butchering of the solar and renewable energy development budget, the 20-second spots featured rock stars such as Bonnie Raitt, Graham Nash and James Young of the band Styx.

"Hi, this is Peter Bergman of the Firesign Theatre. Reach into your wallet and take out that dollar bill. Who's on it? George Washington. He's dead, but if he was alive today, he'd be joining with us—the Solar Lobby—to help keep sunlight free. It's our biggest alternative, our brightest alternative... Pull out those dead presidents and send them to us."

Certainly Ronald Reagan is not reaching into the treasury's wallet to finance solar research and conservation. The administration that has characterized conservation as being too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer, also claims that solar technologies are "not viable alternatives to oil, coal and nuclear power."

Yet according to the Solar Lobby in Washington, D.C., renewable energy sources are already providing more total energy than the nation's 72 nuclear reactors.

But the budget request for 1983 shows where the real power lies. Stating once again that the market forces must decide the development of the nation's energy systems, President Reagan not only slashed the 1982 solar budget by 69 percent, but also nearly sucked it dry for 1983—a drop from \$576 million in 1981 to \$73 million for 1983. That amounts to about 92 cents per American household. Those same households are spending an average of about \$750 a year on energy, according to the Solar Lobby.

While the Reagan administration says that energy subsidies are unnecessary, it has proposed a budget of \$1.3 billion in 1983 for nuclear fission projects along with more than \$12 billion of additional tax benefits for oil companies.

Meanwhile, public opinion polls show that solar is the runaway favorite choice for meeting the future energy needs of the country—nuclear power often comes in last.

Studies like the exhaustive report by the Solar Energy Research Institute also show that renewable energy sources could meet 20 to 30 percent of the U.S. energy demand by

the year 2000. Similar estimates have been reached by Harvard Business School's Energy Project.

Although many solar firms are being squeezed by the current oil glut and depressed housing market, Martin Enowitz, president of Energy Investment Research, Inc., predicts that when the housing picture improves and the oil glut dries up, solar sales could improve dramatically.



Built from the ground down and sheltered by three feet of earth, the Terraset Elementary School in Reston, Va., has a canopy of solar collectors that helped save \$14,400 in fuel costs in one year.

What makes solar's future all the brighter is that "it outshines other more established industries' (auto, steel, computer) performance..." Enowitz said. In fact, some surveys show that solar will grow at a compounded rate of 20 to 30 percent for the remainder of the decade, far surpassing the U.S. economy's 2 percent growth. But of course its future growth depends on what direction the general economy takes.

If solar energy really begins to show up as a hot spot on the stock market, who will be controlling it? Will the solar industry be a collection of small- to medium-sized companies providing a means for homeowners to unplug from their local utility company? Or, will solar become just another subsidiary of the oil conglomerates?

Solar is headed down both paths right now. For example, the number of passive solar homes (in which the building it-

self acts as a collector, and little high technology is used) increased from 500 in 1977 to over 70,000 in 1982. At the same time the oil companies are moving into the sunshine. Not content with controlling coal, oil, natural gas and uranium reserves, they are taking command of solar technology. Already three firms control 79 percent of the photovoltaic cells, which produce electricity directly from sunlight. And recently one of these companies, ARCO Solar, a subsidiary of ARCO Oil, signed an agreement with a California utility to produce solar electricity.

A fight for the sun, or rather its dollars, is also shaping up in the nation's second largest solar market. In New York, the Long Island Lighting Co. (LILCO) announced plans last year to create an unregulated, wholly-owned subsidiary to sell and install solar hot water heaters. With energy prices already high and still climbing, the market on Long Island could bring in \$600 million. But many of the utility's small competitors have complained about the plans to the Public Service Commission, which recently ordered a halt to LILCO's operation until it considers the issue.

"If LILCO is successful, then other utilities will view it as a precedent," said Bill Ross of DAS SolarSystems in Brooklyn. "I would say that if Long Island Lighting Company is allowed to become a separate subsidiary and allowed to compete freely with the existing industry, the existing industry will fold."

—Paul Choitz

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

A patient explosion threatens to sink hospital program

By Doug Birch

WASHINGTON

TO THE GENERATION THAT confidently rode the crest of the post World War II economic boom, it must have been one more signal that the era of limits was closing fast.

Soon after Ronald Reagan took office, administration officials began warning that, in the next few years, 12.4 million World War II veterans would reach the age of 65 and become eligible for free medical care from the Veterans Administration (VA)—regardless of their income. VA officials were predicting these former servicemen and women would swamp the system's 172 hospitals, 226 outpatient clinics and 93 nursing homes. The VA, which spends \$25 billion a year and administers the largest public health care system in the Western world, was simply not equipped to provide the care already pledged, officials said.

"We're going to see a lot more veterans than we can take care of. We'll either have to change the rules or turn people away," the VA's assistant medical director said.

About the same time, Sen. Alan K. Simpson, the Wyoming Republican who heads the Senate's Veterans' Affairs Committee, claimed VA hospital benefits would "break the bank. We can't leave the budget unscathed."

For veterans who were paying attention, the "crisis" must have sounded uncomfortably familiar. It was the same kind of doomsday scenario the administration was peddling to justify sharp re-

ductions in welfare benefits of every stripe in what was being pictured as a valiant effort to throw a rope over "run-away government spending." The remedy was familiar if not clearly logical—avoid the spectacle of turning away sick, elderly veterans from VA hospitals by stripping them of their eligibility for care.

Specifically, VA Administrator Robert P. Nimmo recommended setting a \$15,000 income ceiling as a recommended "guide" to be used in evaluating treatment requests by retired veterans. The proposal, now discarded, would not have saved much money in itself. Only about 10 percent of VA patients earn more than \$15,000 a year. But it would have changed the nature of VA care from a system open to anyone regardless of income to a "means-tested" one serving only the poor. And the attrition rate of "means-tested" programs—such as food stamps and rent subsidies—has been discouragingly high under Reagan.

But Congress refused to be roped into reducing the VA's budget. The crisis wasn't even put on the shelf to wait for a less nervous Congress, as with social security, or wrapped up in a package called the New Federalism and mailed COD to the states.

It just evaporated.

Only nine months ago Administrator Nimmo was talking about aged veterans marching 10 abreast up the steps of their local VA hospitals to demand free care. Recently, however, he has discovered that the VA's patient population doesn't appear to be increasing after all. And even if demand for services increases, he

told *In These Times*, the health care system "can absorb a substantially larger case load than we now have with no particular change" (see interview on next page). Despite this slacker-than-expected case load, record deficits and the recession, the VA is actually planning some modest expansion—break the bank or not.

After setting off a string of headlines that probably rattled bowling trophies off their shelves from Peoria to Pasadena, the White House simply shrugged its shoulders and walked away.

What happened?

While the numbers haven't changed, the political climate has. The fierce opposition of 30 million mostly white, male, middle-class and conservative veterans, coupled with double-digit unemployment and a perilous election year for Republicans, appears to have staved off the threatened bankruptcy of the VA hospital system.

At least for the moment. Yet despite their manipulation by the Reagan administration, the figures are accurate and appear to predict at least a decade of escalating claims and costs. As veterans retire, they will grow sicker and poorer. Many will no longer be covered by private health insurance, and they may be too well-off to qualify for medicaid and yet have to struggle to pay the minimum fees demanded by medicare.

If the social security, medicaid and medicare programs are modified as threatened, retired veterans may yet lay siege to their local VA hospitals. The need for nursing-home beds—also free

A 1978 VA study predicted a three-fold increase in demand for more nursing-home beds by the year 2000.

to veterans regardless of income—will be particularly acute, by all estimates. A 1978 VA study predicted the demand for those beds will triple by the year 2000.

Some who argue the crunch is illusory point out that, by law, only veterans who were disabled during wartime are guaranteed treatment in VA hospitals. Other veterans, including POWs, the elderly and the poor, are ranked in priority and treated when beds are available. But veterans with service-connected disabilities—the only people the VA system was created to serve in the first place—make up only about a quarter of VA patients. In addition, VA hospitals average a 20 percent vacancy rate.

So in practice, almost all eligible veterans who check in at VA waiting rooms are now treated. If they weren't, veterans' lobbies like the two-million member Veterans of Foreign Wars and the 2.7 million member American Legion are so influential—and Congress so sympathetic—that the rules would probably be changed. In fact, in Florida, where the VA hospitals and nursing homes are jammed, the administration is busy building new facilities to meet the demand.

Moreover, the administration hasn't even talked about cutting the VA's \$3.8 billion pension program, which supplements or replaces social security and private pensions for about 23 percent of the nation's 3 million retired veterans. By the next decade, when there will be an estimated 7 million veterans over 65, VA pension costs are expected to climb to \$11 billion—about double the amount the federal government spends on its chief welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Nagging problems.

The expected increase in claimants is only the latest in a series of nagging problems to hit the VA in the last decade. The modern agency was born after World War II when Congress remodeled a network of decrepit and underfunded hospitals built in the '20s and launched a smorgasbord of veteran benefit programs, including educational grants, mortgage subsidies, life insurance, pensions and burial costs. After carving out this bivouac-to-grave welfare state within a welfare state, Congress embarked on a 20-year expansion program in which 66 new hospitals were

Continued on page 22

If the social security, medicaid and medicare programs are modified as threatened, retired veterans may yet lay siege to their local VA hospitals.



VA head discusses future vet benefits

By Doug Birch

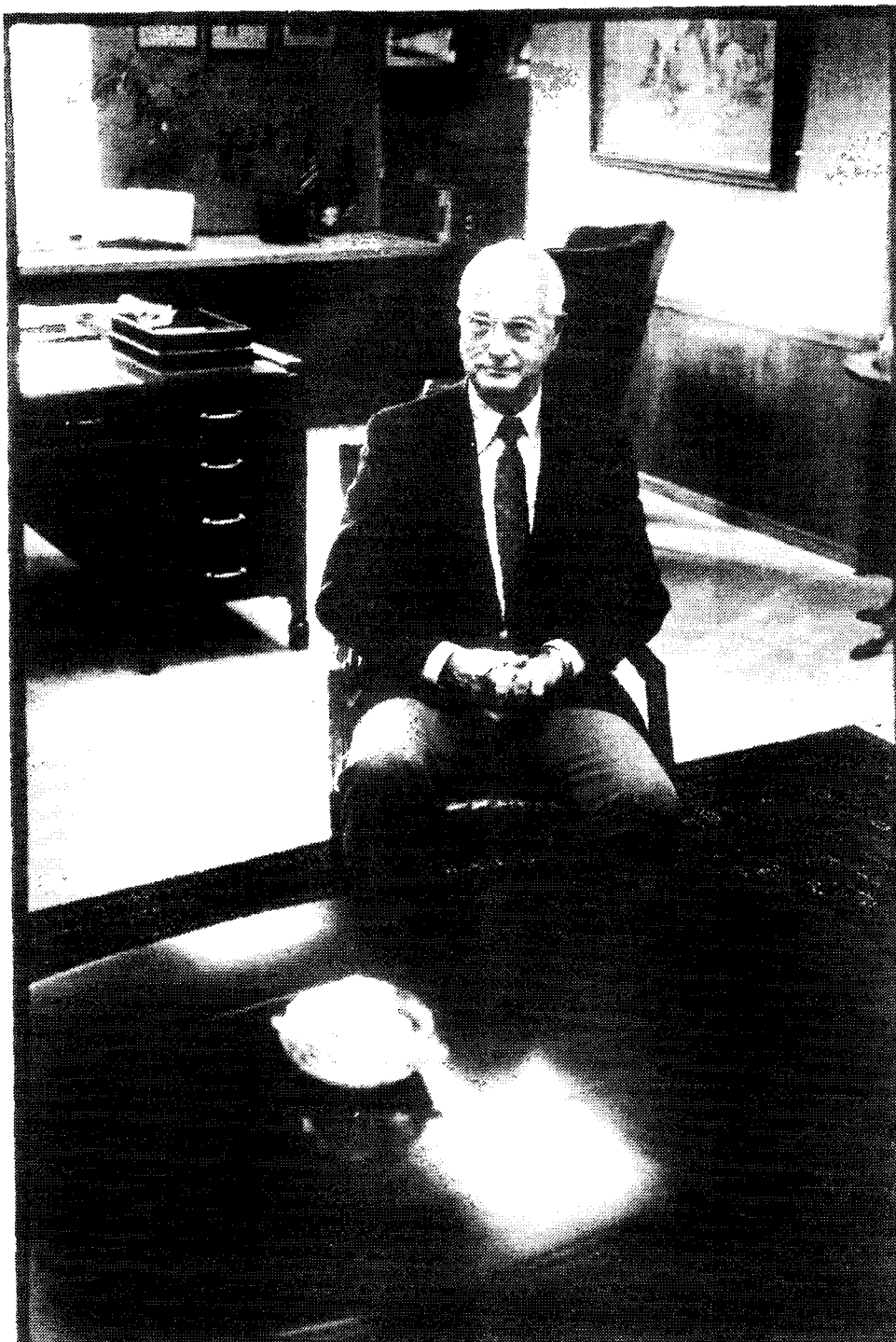
ROBERT P. NIMMO, THE MAN responsible for directing the Veterans Administration's 220,000 employees and \$25 billion budget, is Ronald Reagan's kind of bureaucrat.

The white-haired retired National Guard colonel speaks frankly and has a wit dryer than an acre of scrubland. A 60-year-old former California state legislator, rancher and real estate man, he has a strong distaste for government spending, an unshakable loyalty to the president and a talent for saying things that get him into trouble.

Nimmo once commented that the chemical defoliant Agent Orange couldn't be traced to anything more virulent than "teenage acne," and recently likened the leaders of some veterans' groups to rapacious union leaders, which is like calling John Foster Dulles a Trotskyite. But his most famous quote is one he denies having ever said—that he didn't want any "no-legged" people working around the 10th floor of VA headquarters in Washington because he found them "too depressing."

He was chosen to head the VA over several more prominent candidates with close ties to the so-called iron triangle of veterans' groups, congressional staff and the VA bureaucracy. By contrast, Nimmo admits he had little experience or interest in veterans' affairs before his nomination. After serving as a national guard officer, he became an aide to then-Governor Ronald Reagan in the early '70s. Nimmo went on to win election to the state assembly, and then the senate, representing the conservative farmers and ranchers of the Upper Salinas Valley. In Sacramento, he is remembered as an implacable foe of social spending and as the legislator who called Jane Fonda a traitor after she visited Hanoi during the war.

His appointment was greeted by some weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth on the part of veterans' groups. In part it was because Nimmo was clearly a



Budget worries make Robert P. Nimmo's new office uncomfortable.

member of the Reagan team, in part it was because some suspected he had orders to report to David Stockman, who

had already proposed, then withdrawn, a \$300 million reduction of the VA's medical budget.

A few months into his appointment, "crisis" talk was thick in the air and Nimmo was suggesting ways to restrict eligibility for benefits. Apparently considering Reagan politically unassailable—and still a potential ally—veterans' groups and VA bureaucrats dug in for protracted guerrilla war against Nimmo.

Nimmo himself quickly made two errors all too typical of Reagan's wealthy, perquisite-loving appointees. First, despite a presidential directive, he spent \$46,000 to refurbish the VA headquarters' executive suite, including \$8,477 for a private bathroom for his office. He also hired a chauffeur and ordered an executive-length limousine, disregarding two warnings from VA lawyers that the big car broke government rules. After an investigation and a critical report by the inspector general's office, Nimmo paid \$6,441 back to the government.

But the campaign against Nimmo began in earnest when columnist Jack Anderson nominated him as the "worst Reagan appointee," and reported the "no legged" quote. The Anderson column started a flood of leaks accusing Nimmo of everything from going golfing instead of attending the groundbreaking for the national memorial to Vietnam veterans to packing the VA with Republican hacks from California.

The unrest climaxed this summer when several veterans' groups threatened to call for Nimmo's resignation. Instead, Nimmo appeared before them at national conventions repentant and accommodating. He told them the VA budget would expand, that every effort would be made to provide health care to elderly veterans and that pipe dreams about selling the VA's 172 hospitals to the private sector would remain just that.

The following interview was conducted with Nimmo in late September.

How many additional nursing home beds will the VA need to accommodate retiring veterans?

We have no really accurate projections about what our needs will be. We're going to try and make a survey of aging

Continued on page 10

A vet's nightmare with the VA system

While studies consistently rank the care at most Veterans Administration hospitals as better than or equal to that available in private hospitals, few veterans believe it.

In part, many seem convinced government dispensed medical care must be second rate. But most of their complaints reflect the system's deeply rooted problems—such as its tendency to perform unnecessary surgery and ignore the needs of chronic care patients. Supporters point out that the VA faults merely reflect those of American medicine in general. But that is small comfort to veterans, 1.2 million of whom check into VA hospitals each year.

One of those veterans, Bob Weisfeld, enlisted in 1942 and was assigned as a gunner on a bomber flying out of bases in Italy. He was an 18-year-old combat veteran with 39 missions behind him by the time his plane was shot down over France, killing seven of the 10 crewmen. Scorched and terrified, he bailed out, landed in a grape vineyard and was eventually snuggled back behind Allied lines by the French underground.

While his wounds healed, Weisfeld had a hard time coping with the death of the other crewmembers. He felt a tremendous sense of guilt for having survived the crash and had a hard time accepting the loss of his friends. Weisfeld tried to forget the nightmares

and ignore the fear for many years after coming back from Italy. But after returning to Virginia and working for the local power company for six years, something snapped. He suddenly found himself reliving the terror of the crash.

Admitted to a VA hospital in Richmond, he was subjected to an experimental shock therapy using insulin. "It was the most harrowing thing I've ever been through in my life," he says. "It was like dying and coming back to life again."

The treatment sent him into a coma, from which he was later revived by doses of orange juice spiked with sugar. After three months of various other "treatments," including one that alternated hot and cold baths, Weisfeld returned to Betty, his home and his job.

But he couldn't hang on. He was soon readmitted to the hospital and spent the next two years receiving more conventional therapy. After his second release, Weisfeld left his home and drifted west. By now trained as a chef, he worked in various cities until he finally settled in San Diego. The bad dreams were never far behind.

Several years ago Weisfeld had a heart attack and open heart surgery was scheduled at the La Jolla VA hospital. While preparing for the operation, doctors inserted a catheter, or probe, into an artery. The probe

knocked loose a piece of material clinging to the wall of the artery, sending it into his bloodstream. It lodged in an artery in Weisfeld's leg, cutting off the supply of blood. Most of the leg had to be amputated.

Two weeks later, the stump appeared infected and surgeons removed two more inches. The doctors were discussing a third amputation when it was discovered Weisfeld's leg was not infected—he was merely allergic to the disinfectant used on his bandages. The heart surgery was later performed successfully.

Weisfeld says he has also been given the wrong medicine or prescribed inappropriate doses by VA doctors. Once, he said, a doctor examining him began by consulting another patient's chart.

The war still haunts Bob Weisfeld.



On another occasion, two physicians had a disagreement in front of him over whether or not the retina of his eye was deteriorating. They both stomped off without resolving the question, and without saying a word to Weisfeld. Both he and Betty said outpatient care was particularly aggravating, because, after long waits, physicians were usually preoccupied and conducted cursory examinations.

Weisfeld called the La Jolla VA hospital's waiting room "a zoo. It's a stockyard. You're pushed in and pushed out as fast as possible." Caught in the middle are the majority of patients, who are told little and understand less.

After his heart operation, Weisfeld learned to navigate in a wheelchair and retired to his modest but comfortable mobile home perched on a dusty lot at the end of a dirt road. Considered 40 percent disabled under the VA's rating system, Bob collects \$260 a month disability pension from the VA and \$540 a month in Social Security disability benefits. After their \$240 house payment each month, the Weisfelds say they're "just making it" on the money left over. Their son has also helped out by buying them a brown van specially-equipped for a handicapped driver.

Weisfeld is now trying to get his disability rating raised, so his pension payments will increase. He believes that many of his later problems—his back, his heart, his "nerves"—resulted from his war injuries. "It's a delayed shock kind of thing," he said. "I think right now that if I would have gotten the type of treatment I needed right out of the service it would have been a different story today."

—D.B.

IN THE WORLD

HONDURAS



Steve Cogan

Miskitos arm for move on Nicaragua

By James H. Evans
and Jack Epstein

RUS RUS, HONDURAS

DESPITE THE LATE AFTERNOON pounding rain in this tiny Atlantic coast hamlet near the Nicaraguan border, Miskito Indians keep appearing out of the jungle foliage. Most of them tote sugar and flour-sack packs loaded with food supplies, although a few carry weapons and are dressed in army fatigues.

After stopping at a cookhouse where a Creole man records the amount they are carrying, the Miskitos move toward a footbridge that spans a small creek. The supplies are being taken to one of several camps nearby, whose specific locations remain a mystery to unauthorized persons.

An attempt to follow the Miskitos is halted by a Honduran soldier who suddenly appears out of the cookhouse.

"Stop," he shouts, an M-16 rifle held firmly in grip. "You can't go there."

"Why?" he is asked.

"You can't," he answers, obviously uneasy with the question. "It's prohibited."

When his order is challenged by a few more cautious steps toward the bridge, he tensely shifts his weapon. "I can't let you go there," he shouts with a manifest finality.

Ironically, just an hour earlier the same soldier—one of nine stationed in Rus Rus

—was among several who had frankly discussed Misura (the exiled Miskito organization led by Steadman Fagoth Mueller) activities in the area while two Toyota trucks had arrived loaded with supplies. They had even reacted favorably to a request to visit a base, explaining that permission could be obtained from comandante number 42, a woman.

But that cooperative attitude abruptly changed when word was apparently passed down to the soldiers to maintain strict silence. Suddenly, Misura didn't exist, they didn't have any trucks, there were no encampments and movement around Rus Rus was restricted.

The episode illustrates the Honduran military's protective familiarity with the camps, which includes frequent logistic support, although that is heatedly refuted by the commander of the armed forces, General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez.

Misura—extremely well-organized and disciplined—occasionally takes it a step further and negates its own existence. Inquiries are normally met with a wall of stares, denials and lies. Rarely will people agree to talk, and only if they are shown written permission from their superiors—meaning Fagoth, his commanders or the ruling Miskito commission in the Mocoron region. Yet phantoms don't provide written permission.

According to informants, this calculated silence is a result of an order passed down from the Honduran army command to maintain a low profile, not to admit to armed conflict and specific-

ally not to talk with journalists. This strategy is in line with the Honduran military's official posturing—Miskito camps do not exist, and if they do it's only because the border is too long to effectively control—repudiating Nicaraguan charges that Honduras knowingly aides and abets insurgent activity.

As with most solid structures, however, cracks develop. Periodically Misura commanders and combatants, religious officials, soldiers and miscellaneous sources will speak openly, although quietly, with journalists, all the while insisting that their names not be used. Through them a picture emerges of past and present Miskito operations.

There are more than 2,000 active Misura combatants, while an estimated 6,000 more serve in logistic and other back-up capacities. Both figures include Moravian pastors in the total since a prominent characteristic of Misura is its religious zeal. Only recently have the combatants been well-armed, principally with FAL and M-16 rifles, grenades and bazookas, while many secondary combatants use shotguns, hunting rifles and machetes.

Initial training, in bases similar to the ones now used, lasted about a year under the guidance of ex-Somoza national guardsmen who provided food, clothes, boots and some weapons. Rumors of Argentine advisors at the bases were never corroborated, although commanders said that two Argentine colonels made a tour of the camps in September 1981.

After he fled into exile last year, Fagoth assumed the leadership and became the intermediary between the *Somocistas* (followers of the late dictator Anastasio Somoza) and the Honduran military. He regularly flies to Miami to raise funds from the large exile community there. He also makes frequent trips between Tegucigalpa, the country's capital, and Puerto Lempira, the capital of this coastal department.

In the fall of 1981, 80 Miskitos, calling themselves *Astros*, broke from Fagoth's authority. They accused him of cooper-

off by soldiers while the Misura trucks were loaded.

The U.S. Embassy claimed those C123s were being shown to the Hondurans for possible sales. But officials acknowledged that the U.S. had delivered food and relief supplies to Choluteca and tents and fuel drums to Puerto Lempira in preparation for the 5th battalions' transfer to the Atlantic coast. During that U.S.-funded move a month later, the only non-military vehicles allowed near the unloading zone belonged to Misura.

During the July offensive, material was delivered into Nicaragua mostly from motorized canoes leaving from Irlaya, on the mouth of the Rio Coco river. Land routes that began in the many camps near the border were also utilized. Supplies were brought in by Misura trucks and in army vehicles, and the seriously wounded soldiers were airlifted to Tegucigalpa for medical treatment in a military hospital.

"The army helps us," explained a Miskito combatant, "especially in bringing in food." He added that since the arrival of the 5th battalion, aid has increased. "They now fly in food and arms by helicopter," he said, referring to U.S. Hueys being used by the armed forces.

Since the beginning of August, Misura insurgents have been engaged in a strategic withdrawal from Nicaragua. "The camps are full," said one Miskito commander. "Pwebila (near Irlaya) is filled to capacity, and the camps at Rus Rus have 1,200 fighters." There are said to be at least 10 camps near the border.

The combatants are reportedly awaiting a decision being made in Tegucigalpa among Fagoth and his advisors, the *Somocista* leadership and the Honduran military. U.S. representatives are rumored to be monitoring the meeting's progress.

Many people here speculate that a new offensive is being planned, although other sources suggest that the conference may be a result of problems in the anti-Sandinista alliance. Fagoth is reportedly at odds with the *Somocistas* and is currently trying to stifle a rebellious mood



Steve Cogan

ating too closely with the *Somocistas* and not being willing to fight. This renegade band—which armed itself by capturing weapons from Nicaraguan soldiers—was responsible for attacks along the border prior to the Sandinista decision last December to relocate Miskitos from the area. The *Astros* later loosely realigned themselves with Fagoth.

In June of this year—with training completed, combatants anxious for a fight and supplies and weapons finally available in quantity—the decision was made to move into Nicaragua and attack along a wide front as the Sandinistas prepared for their third anniversary celebration in July.

Relief agency employees (who administer aid to the 12,000 refugees) in Puerto Lempira reported that Honduran military flights often ferried in supplies, which Misura unloaded into its two Toyota trucks. The U.S. military also saw some action at this time, flying in a C123 transport to both Coluteca (from where the armed ex-national guardsmen groups operate) and Puerto Lempira, where, according to residents, the zone was sealed

among his troops, many of whom are leaning toward Brooklyn Rivera, a Miskito leader allied with Alphonso Robelo and Eden Pastora. Recently the U.S. embassy has signaled that it is increasing its support of Rivera.

Fagoth is also facing a rear-guard action on two fronts. The Mocoron refugee camp, a principle recruitment and emergency supply resource, is being dispersed to lands away from the border by order of relief agency administrators, who Misura characterizes as "Communist and Sandinista dupes." Also the Honduran Miskito organization, under the banner of their indigenous organization, Masta, is slowly disassociating itself from the Nicaraguan Miskitos—a move that could cause Fagoth some problems.

The feeling among residents here is that the already steamy climate will only get hotter in the upcoming months. Many worry that the end result of the many intrigues will be open war.

James H. Evans and Jack Epstein are journalists in Central America on grants from the Fund for Investigative Journalism and The Circle Fund.

FRANCE

Grassroots left is withering

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

AFTER 15 MONTHS IN THE government, the French left seems in danger of withering away everywhere else. Political activism on the left seems to have hit an all-time low. Youth is largely turned off. The labor unions are losing members. The major single-issue movements—women, ecology, peace—have never been robust in France and now seem to be wasting away. Parties are anemic from loss of militants.

This is not because the “people of the left” are sitting back enraptured as the government fulfills their every desire. Far from it. Even the Socialist Party (PS)—which after Francois Mitterrand’s election as president on May 10, 1981, enjoyed an influx of opportunists—is stagnating. The PS is a special case, since most of its upper reaches were drawn into office by the party’s landslide victory last year. But the lower reaches, deprived of their old pleasure of taking part in policy debates and allowed only to cheer for “their” government, are morose. Grassroots political life is drying up.

This state of affairs cannot be attributed to disillusionment with the Mitterrand government. The doldrums go back before May 10 of last year.

The left government might have aroused people from their torpor if it had a strategy based on mobilizing social movements. But its strategy is technocratic, and still not clearly defined. Nothing much has happened, nothing much has changed and people on the left are doubly lulled by the feeling that this government, however uninspiring, is the best they can reasonably hope for and that carping could favor a right-wing comeback.

The political demobilization that affected most developed countries in the late '70s was particularly far-reaching in France. Everywhere, the global political project associated with Leninism was discredited. Militants who had thought they were committed to a totally adequate analysis of reality providing the keys to the future tended to lose that belief. But the pragmatic, moral, sentimental or religious considerations and impulses that continued to motivate political commitment in other countries were particularly weak or scorned in France. Intellectuals who lost their conviction in a global political project nevertheless retained the habit of seeing specific political actions only in terms of some global project and judging them accordingly.

This accounts for the extraordinary evaporation of French support for Third World liberation movements. Much of that support, when it flourished 15 years ago, was animated by revolutionaries who saw support for Cuba or Vietnam as an element in their own proletarian revolution. Once belief in that link and devotion to that revolution is lost, those people tend to lose all interest in the fate of the Vietnamese, the Cubans or other Third World peoples.

Today there is far more support for Nicaragua and El Salvador in West Germany and the U.S. than in France. Many French ex-revolutionaries express wonder at such “moralistic” support, apparently unconnected to any global project, or else they express suspicion that it is being manipulated by Moscow.

Concern for an isolated issue on its own merits is considered naïve, useless and perhaps harmful since it means involvement in a global struggle that is not globally understood. Thinking in this manner, many French “leftists” (in quotes, since they still consider themselves on the left, even if they are no longer active) have only pity or contempt for the American left or the left in most of northern Europe. But this frus-

trated need for a global project is totally paralyzing.

The left parties in power—both Socialist and Communist—belong to the political tradition most afflicted with this paralysis.

In other countries, and notably West Germany, the new movements have revitalized political life. This has not happened so far in France. They are in a sad state.

Ecology.

Ecology movement candidate Brice Lalonde got about 4 percent of the vote in last year’s presidential elections on the first round, yet most of his voters turned to Mitterrand in the second round. But ecologists are bitterly disappointed with the left government.

Socialists had promised a “vast national debate” on nuclear power. This boiled down to two days of debate in the Na-

—rival vanguards led by feuding ideologues. The main feud pits the Mouvement de Liberation des Femmes (MLF)—whose chief ideologue is Antoinette Fouque and that scandalized other women a couple of years ago by actually *patenting* the MLF name, that is, the right to call itself the “women’s liberation movement”—against all the rest. Almost all the groups supported the left in the 1981 elections, and they are disappointed now.

Disillusion struck when the govern-

This state of affairs cannot be attributed to disillusionment with the Mitterrand government.



Ecology movement candidate Brice Lalonde (above) got about 4 percent of the vote in last year’s presidential elections on the first round, yet most of his voters turned to Mitterrand in the second round.

tional Assembly, where Socialist deputies were whipped into line behind the government’s decision to carry on the nuclear power program. Mitterrand kept his campaign promise to cancel the nuclear power plant scheduled for the Breton village of Plogoff because the local people were vehemently opposed. Without the lively Plogoff struggle, the antinuclear movement practically collapsed.

The French greatly esteem rationality. They fancy that a technology dependent on advanced scientific knowledge must be especially rational and that objections to it must be irrational. No broad public debate has shaken this assumption, and there’s a large national consensus for the left government’s emphasis on economic recovery through high technology—including nuclear power.

Still, a large minority of the population is sensitive to environmental issues, and the ecology movement could probably grow if it weren’t torn from within by the feuds and rivalries of its frequently temperamental leaders.

Women.

The French women’s movement has developed extraordinarily little sense of “sisterhood,” and has reproduced one of the usual faults of French political life

ment backed off from its promise to extend social security medical coverage to abortions. This was announced last June by Pierre Bérégovoy just after he replaced the cabinet’s ranking woman, Nicole Questiaux, as minister for social affairs. Bérégovoy pretended to be motivated by the new “rigor” in holding down expenses, but the real reason was fear of right-wing attacks in the municipal elections next March. The measure may come up for consideration next April—if, in the meantime, the women’s movement can show it has clout.

Lawyer Gisele Halimi, who heads a feminist group called Choisir and got elected to the National Assembly on the Socialist Party ticket in last year’s landslide, recently stated her disappointment publicly. She said she never had any illusion that Mitterrand could “be turned into a militant of women’s cause or even a fellow traveler. He is not profoundly convinced that feminism has any reason to exist, but he can be convinced that it is fair and necessary for a particular decision to be taken, a promise to be kept.”

But promises to women were being kept slowly, and the Socialist Party was ignoring feminism, she complained. “More and more, the PS is confining itself touchily to economic problems,”

Halimi told *Le Monde*. “Our struggle has always included an analysis of patriarchy that the PS, after some slight allusions to it during its campaign, seems to be rejecting entirely.”

Change for women must involve a change in priorities, she said. “Before investing in a nuclear submarine, let’s pay for parental leave!”

Peace.

The French peace movement is the weakest in Europe. The fact that the left is in power has contributed greatly to stunting its growth, as all leading political parties and media have rallied around NATO and nuclear weapons. This is a constant of French policy that the Socialists are carrying on with special zeal. They have subscribed fully to the Gaullist belief in the “equalizing” power of the atom—that is, the notion that possession of nuclear arms can put a medium-sized power

on the level of the great powers. Besides, nuclear weapons are cheaper than a comparable conventional defense.

This aspect is particularly appreciated by the Socialists as the economy fails to pick up and the budget squeezes. For the past year, Mitterrand has made his devotion to France’s traditional nuclear deterrent strategy sound like close agreement with Washington, making France Reagan’s best ally in NATO. But the Socialist government is likely to be caught in a tight corner when the Americans start persuading NATO to shift from nuclear deterrence to the expensive new “Airland Battle” strategy for conventional warfare with “smart” electronic weapons made in the U.S. This could throw the French defense debate (up to now a warmed over hash of Gaullist and Paul Nitze arguments) into turmoil and provide a new space for a disarmament movement.

Labor.

The new social movements grouped on the left are accumulating enough grievances with the left government to start building up some sort of left opposition. But the mainstay of the old left, the labor movement, is not frightfully happy either. Both of the main confederations—the CGT and the CFDT—tacitly went along with the government’s measures to freeze purchasing power, on the understanding that in return for holding down quantitative demands, they would get something qualitatively, in the form of expanded rights of employees in the work place.

But management is screaming at the prospect of any impingement on its authority, and the government is backing away from this one, too. The weakness of the unions, and the greater concern of workers’ with their purchasing power and job security in a time of recession, makes the relationship of forces favorable to the bosses.

The biggest recent demonstration in Paris was called on September 3 by the National Union of Liberal Professions and the National Center of Health Professions against the government. The turnout of upward of 40,000 showed that the privileged are ready to mobilize to defend their privileges, while the less privileged are largely demobilized.

But there is little enthusiasm anywhere. People watch TV and answer questions put to them by opinion surveys. Most of them say they like Pierre Mauroy as prime minister, although they don’t necessarily think he knows what he’s talking about. Fifty percent of French people want Georges Marchais to stay on as head of the Communist Party, although he “lacks credibility” (73 percent), is “intolerant” (71 percent), “incoherent” (61 percent) and “insincere” (52 percent)—apparently because he is “funny” (68 percent). Clearly, the show’s the thing.

Is passivity itself a rightward trend? In any case, it is certainly not *autogestion*. ■

Nimmo

Continued from page 7

veterans and try to get some idea of what their expectations are going to be. But as the Congress gets started doing something with the medicare and medicaid systems and social security, we think it's going to have a significant impact on us. But we're not sure what.

We do know that at the present time the vast majority of 65-year-old veterans do not come to the VA for medical care. They either have hospital insurance, or we suspect a great many of them are relying on Medicare. But if Medicare eligibility rules change, premiums go up or if they are denied a choice of doctors, it could have a significant impact on the veterans who decide to come to the VA.

In July, you told the Disabled American Veterans that the VA "should be in the forefront of research into the diseases and health problems of the aged." What is the VA doing to insure that?

In the 1984 budget, which will be submitted in a matter of weeks, we will ask for substantially more money for medical research, primarily for Agent Orange studies, delayed stress studies and diseases of the aging. We have a current year [research] budget of \$138 million. I think we have to go substantially beyond that. But I think it's going to be difficult to get those dollars in the economic envi-

ronment in which we find ourselves.

In January, you suggested that one way to cut the expected cost of treating aging veterans would simply be to end the practice of giving those over 65 free medical care. Is that still possible?

If I had kicked over a hill of fire ants I could not have gotten myself into more difficulties than by that observation. I don't make them anymore. Sooner or later Congress is going to have to look at a whole array of entitlements, I think, and decide whether or not changes need to be made. I'm not going to propose any changes. I'm simply going to try to deliver as efficiently as I possibly can the health care services that Congress has authorized. And that includes health care for veterans over 65, irrespective of anything else, if they ask for it.

If the Congress finds itself compelled to re-examine medicare, social security, educational grants, all those other things, I think they may very well find themselves also taking a look at some of the entitlements, some of the rating schedules [for disability benefits], but I'm not going to recommend changes.

What is your view of "mainstreaming" VA patients, that is, gradually shifting veterans' care to private hospitals?

I'm opposed to it for a number of reasons. First of all, mainstreaming in the sense of sending veterans to private hospitals or private doctors we do on a very large scale. The entire state of Alaska, for example, has no VA hospitals. Our total population up there is taken care of by so-called mainstreaming. But mainstreaming in the sense of dismantling, if you will, the integrated health care system we have, the system of 172 hospitals, 220 some odd outpatient clinics—I'm totally opposed to that.

But what a lot of the private sector medical profession wants is the high-dollar cases—they want all the acute-care cases, and they're perfectly willing to leave the VA with all of the psychiatric patients, the nursing-home patients. And if that were to happen, it would destroy quality health care. In order to have quality health care we have to have the [medical school] affiliations, and we can only have the affiliations if we have a complete array of patients, acute care, nursing home, psychiatric and all the rest of them. So if we were to accept mainstreaming as it is perceived by most of the private sector medical profession it would destroy quality care in our hospitals. We can't allow that to happen.

Supporters of the VA hospital system say it's more efficient at delivering health care than the private sector. Do you think it is?

I do. Now obviously, with affiliations, you're not only interested in delivering good medical care, but you're also interested in producing good doctors, and you're also interested in the advancement of medical science. It's easy to make the argument that we're not as efficient as the private sector because our space in the hospital is far greater than the space in a private-sector hospital, because we have to have room for the teaching load. So we do have a great deal of expense that

you will not find in the private sector. On the other hand, if we were to do away with that, who is going to do the teaching? Who's going to advance medical science?

David Stockman has reportedly recommended, among other things, that Congress tax service-connected disability compensation, eliminate compensation for disabilities that are not extensive, totally eliminate veterans' pension programs and close up to 30 hospitals. Are those possibilities?

If he really made those recommendations or that observation, he did it at some moment during which reality escaped him, because those things aren't going to happen. I think, as I said earlier, if we continue in the kind of economic environment we now have, and I suspect it is going to continue for some years, then Congress is probably going to be driven into a position of re-examining some of the entitlements.

Again, what is the VA doing to prepare for the increasing number of retired veterans?

There's not much you can do to prepare, except to keep the budget process down.

How much will it cost?

There's no way you can project it. In hospital care, as long as entitlements remain the same...we will continue to deliver care in accordance with the priority system that Congress has set...in Florida we have very little space in terms of facilities. Overall, we have an occupancy rate of about 80 percent, which means we still have a 10 percent cushion there to accept case load. Yet the length of stay is going down, so we think we can absorb a substantially larger case load than we now have with no particular change.

Nevertheless, we do recognize that we will need additional nursing home centers, we do recognize that we're going to need additional outpatient clinics. We do recognize that a good many of our acute care facilities are obsolete, that they're overcrowded, that they need renovations, that they need additions—and we're going to get on with that.

GIVE IN THESE TIMES THIS HOLIDAY SEASON



It's easy and it's cheap. It's the gift that keeps on giving all year long. Just fill out the coupon below and we'll do the rest—even send gift cards. Beat the commercial holiday racket—give **IN THESE TIMES** this year!

My name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

Send first gift to: _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

Send second gift to: _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

Send third gift to: _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

☐ \$23.50 one year ☐ \$12.95 six months ☐ \$19.50 one year ☐ \$10.95 six months ☐ \$19.50 one year ☒ 10.95 six months

Sign gift cards: _____

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me after Jan. 1st.

Charge my ☐ VISA ☒ MasterCard

Signed _____

FOR FAST SERVICE USE OUR TOLL-FREE NUMBER:
800-247-2160. Iowa residents call: 1-800-362-2860.

Oil

Continued from page 3

1980 level). The effect would be to take business away from the other OPEC members—who are wildly violating their assigned quotas and OPEC price standards—and show them where the real clout in the organization lies.

The great danger, however, is that the Gulf producers' action will trigger a wild free-for-all with "incalculable consequences," in the words of one industry periodical.

In the final analysis, oil is just another commodity, subject to the same laws of supply and demand. An explosion in commodity prices in 1970-72 presaged the first OPEC price hike from \$3 per barrel to \$11. Similarly, primary industrial products, raw materials and agricultural goods—the stuff of Third World exports—have been tumbling since 1980 in much the same pattern of boom, over-production and bust.

The consequences have been tremendously harmful up and down the world economy, from Third World farmers to giant American mining companies such as Amax Inc., which expects to lose \$350 million this year because of the plunge in the price of molybdenum, a metal with a wide range of industrial uses. A further plunge in those prices would signal a depression, while a general rise would signal a recovery.

Meanwhile, government analysts—aware of the economy's refusal to respond thus far and the tremendous damage that has already been done—are projecting economic growth for the industrial nations in 1983 at only 3.6 percent, well below the robust average of 5.5 percent that has followed all other recessions since World War II.

But as *Business Week* conceded several weeks ago, even this anemic recovery "has to be taken on faith."

SOUTH AFRICA

The U.S. is a friend indeed

By Claudia Wright

WASHINGTON

UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick, who will celebrate her birthday November 19, received a belated and unusual birthday greeting last year.

On December 1, South Africa sent a special courier to the ambassador's New York office to deliver a letter (see graphic below) signed by Pieter Swanepoel, the information counselor at the South African Embassy in Washington, who had just arrived from Pretoria. The letter expressed "best regards and gratitude" from Lt. Gen. P.W. van der Westhuizen, head of South Africa's military intelligence.

The birthday gift—a "token of appreciation" honoring her "activity for freedom and democracy"—is not surprising since in recent months Kirkpatrick has certainly been a friend to those who practice their own version of freedom and democracy in South Africa. But because of her position in the U.S. government, Kirkpatrick—unlike most people—cannot simply accept a birthday gift from friends. Under U.S. law, every government official must report all gifts to the State Department (and any gift worth more than \$140 may not be kept under any circumstances).

Although obligated to by law, Kirkpatrick has never reported receiving the gift from the South Africans mentioned in the birthday greeting. When this reporter asked her office if she had received any gifts, her spokeswoman said "there had been none." And when this reporter questioned Swanepoel and the South African ambassador, they also said they knew "nothing about such a gift."

Mutual gratitude between South Africa and the U.S. marks Kirkpatrick's tenure at the UN.

During 1981, General van der Westhuizen had several reasons for being personally grateful to Kirkpatrick. For example, she was the highest ranking U.S. official to meet with him and four other South African military intelligence men on March 15 of that year. Until that meeting, the U.S. had barred official visits by South African officers of brigadier rank or above. At the time, the State Department denied that any such meeting had taken place. Soon after, Kirkpatrick admitted that there had been a meeting but claimed she was not aware of van der Westhuizen's identity at the time. Later, then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig intervened and told the press that he had personally authorized Kirkpatrick's meetings with van der Westhuizen.

The South African general returned to the U.S. on November 23-24 to attend a negotiated session on Namibia. The State Department acknowledged to this reporter that Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker was at this meeting. Kirkpatrick's office denies meeting with Westhuizen at the time. He returned for another visit on February 22-23 of this year. In Kirkpatrick's absence, his meetings with the State Department were monitored by an official from her bureau.

Each of van der Westhuizen's visits preceded major shifts in U.S. policy toward South Africa and resulted in major—usually secret—concessions to South African demands. On each occasion, Kirkpatrick's role was that of a "go between," UN officials said. But according to a State Department official who requested anonymity, she is one of several members of "President Reagan's entourage [whose] furtive association... with some foreign governments—the South African regime in particular—will inflict serious damage to the long-term interests of my country."

After the March 1981 meeting with van der Westhuizen, the administration

SAG's concerns and we are exploring ways to remove in the context of Namibia settlement."

This was the beginning of a U.S.-South African shift on the terms of the Namibian settlement that would eventually undermine the UN resolution on the problem and end the effective negotiating role of the "contact groups"—the U.S., Britain, Canada, France and Germany. It was also the beginning of the "linkage" in U.S. and South African policy between the withdrawal of South African forces from an independent Namibia and a simultaneous withdrawal of Cuban forces from neighboring Angola. According to a South African official, the "linkage" idea was "something the Americans initiated, wanted and pursued."

The green light given.

The Kirkpatrick and Crocker meetings in early 1981 were also the green light for van der Westhuizen and his fellow generals to widen South African military operations in Namibia and Angola and escalate covert operations against Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

As South African troops advanced into Southern Angola in August 1981, Kirkpatrick played the role of public defender at the UN. On August 31 the draft resolution requested by Angola condemning the South African invasion was approved almost unanimously by the Security Council. But Britain abstained, and Kirkpatrick cast the American veto, saying that South Africa's attack was a legitimate reprisal for SWAPO raids from Angolan bases into Namibia—the same view Crocker had privately offered in Pretoria on April 15.

Kirkpatrick played the same role protecting South Africa from UN votes on sanctions through the fall of last year. And then—immediately after van der Westhuizen's November visit—she defended South Africa during the Security Council debate on the invasion of the Seychelles by South African mercenaries.

Plots against the Seychelles government of Albert Rene have been commonplace since the former president, James Mancham, was toppled in 1977. On November 25, 1981—the day after van der Westhuizen's meeting with State Department officials—53 mercenaries, led by Mike Hoare, were involved in a gun fight at the Seychelles airport after weapons they were bringing into the country for their attack were inadvertently discovered.

Hoare and most of his men escaped by hijacking an Air India aircraft to South Africa, where they were tried and convicted of air piracy. Left behind was Martin Dolinschek, an agent of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) of South Africa. He gave a detailed account of his role in advance planning of the attempted coup to both the Seychelles police and the three-man commission of inquiry established by the UN Security Council to investigate the affair.

In a March 15, 1982 transcript of Dolinschek's testimony published in the commission's report to the UN, Dolinschek revealed that both military intelligence and NIS were aware of the Hoare scheme, just as they had known of earlier abortive plans. Dolinschek suggested that Pretoria had hoped to obtain aircraft landing rights and other favors from a reinstated Mancham regime. He said the plan called for Pretoria to provide tacit support and arms (Soviet-bloc weapons captured in Angola). Mancham had raised the cash, he claimed, and the Kenyan government was expected to fly troops into the Seychelles once the mercenaries had installed Mancham in the presidency, and he had appealed for their support.

Seychelles officials also accused the Reagan administration of being in on the

plan, and of providing covert assistance. At his trial in South Africa, Hoare claimed that the CIA had been aware of his plan, but that the agency had been too "timid" at the time to back him. Reported rumors of "trouble in the Seychelles" and of unspecified CIA plots in the Indian Ocean were circulating in Washington during Hoare's preparations between July and September.

Seychelles officials claimed that U.S. naval reconnaissance aircraft made two low-altitude passes over the Seychelles airport on November 11 and 15. Another pass occurred immediately after the November 25 attack. The UN commission investigated these claims, and Kirkpatrick responded by issuing a formal note stating that "there was no flight activity by U.S. aircraft in the vicinity of the Seychelles during November 1981." Since the reports of the aircraft were made in the dark, it is possible that they may have been South African reconnaissance air-



Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick

craft, not the U.S. Navy Orions the Seychelles air controllers thought they had identified.

Whether or not claims of U.S. foreknowledge and covert involvement are true, Kirkpatrick's reaction at the UN—immediately after her birthday gift and General Westhuizen's greetings had been delivered—was a determined defense of the South Africans.

According to officials who were involved at the UN, Kirkpatrick tried at first to prevent a resolution from being considered by the Security Council on the grounds that what had happened was an "internal problem" for the Seychellois. She refused to acknowledge that outside mercenaries were involved, or that South Africa itself might be implicated. Kirkpatrick was adamant that she would veto any resolution that condemned South Africa. In the final form in which a resolution was approved on December 15—the U.S. voting with the others—the text omitted any reference to South Africa.

Some weeks later, van der Westhuizen agreed to meet with the UN Commission of Inquiry, but he answered evasively, refusing to confirm or deny knowledge or involvement of South African intelligence in the operation.

African officials at the UN say they believe South Africa will attempt another coup d'etat against the Seychelles. There is also a growing conviction that a coup is being planned against the Angolan government.

Meanwhile, Kirkpatrick's birthday is coming up again—so is a controversial International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan to South Africa of \$1.1 billion dollars, which the Reagan administration has promised to support over the objections of members of Congress and the African members of the IMF. If the loan is approved as expected, there will be little the South Africans have asked for that the Reagan administration hasn't delivered.

But the dispatchers of this year's birthday greetings for Ambassador Kirkpatrick are bound to have learned the lesson of last year's Seychelles affair—even the best concealed packages can fall open at the most inopportune times.

Claudia Wright is the Washington correspondent for the New Statesman (London) *Temoignage Chretien* (Paris) and *Ethnos* (Athens).



EMBASSY OF SOUTH AFRICA
3051 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

December 1, 1981

H.E. Mrs. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick
Ambassador
United States Mission to the United Nations
799, United Nations Plaza
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

Excellency,

I am pleased to announce my recent arrival as Counsellor (Information) at the South African Embassy, replacing Mr. W. Lotz in that position. My curriculum vitae is attached for your information.

I have the privilege of informing you that my Government as previously highly appreciates your activity for freedom and democracy. The bearer of this message has been authorised to present you with this gift on the occasion of your birthday as a token of appreciation from my Government.

I was also requested by Lt. Gen. P.W. van der Westhuizen to convey his best regards and gratitude.

Yours sincerely,

Pieter A. Swanepoel
COUNSELLOR (INFORMATION)

But Kirkpatrick knows the law. The State Department's published "list of gifts" includes a rug worth \$300 given to her on August 30, 1981, by Gen. Mohamed Zia Ul-Haq of Pakistan.

One favor deserves another.

More important, however, than the gift from the South Africans or Kirkpatrick's failure to report it is the relationship between the ambassador and one of the most powerful men in the South African war machine.

sent Assistant Secretary Crocker to Pretoria. Summaries of his talks there were leaked and published by the *Covert Action Information Bulletin* in their July-August 1981 issue. The documents reveal that Crocker told the South Africans that "top U.S. priority is to stop Soviet encroachment in Africa. U.S. wants to work with SAG [South African Government] but ability to deal with Soviet presence severely impeded by Namibia...USG [U.S. government] assumes Soviet-Cuban presence is one of

A new study charts the top arts donors



By John S. Friedman

IN 1981, RONALD REAGAN PROPOSED cutting the budgets of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) by 50 percent. Opponents across the nation quickly mobilized a counter-attack—holding the cuts to only about 10 percent at NEA and 14 percent at NEH.

But this year, the president has again proposed a budget below pre-Reagan levels, and this time he is likely to come close to his target. Opposition to the cuts is weaker now, primarily because many members of Congress, faced with having to vote for sharp reductions in social programs for the poor, don't think the arts can escape the ax.

The administration claims that the reductions in federal funding of the arts can be offset by donations from other sources. But can they? No one knows for sure, in part because no study has ever systematically identified the nation's top donors to the arts. Which foundations give the most money annually? Which corporations? Which cities? Which state agencies? And, in the face of federal cuts, are they likely to increase their support?

In an effort to answer these questions, a comprehensive survey of 50-some leading donors was conducted. Each of the donors gave about \$2 million or more in 1981—and the total contributed by the donors on the list is nearly \$600 million.

More than \$4 billion was budgeted for cultural activities in 1981. Slightly more than \$314 million (8 percent) came from Washington—about half of that from the NEA alone. About \$300 million more was provided by local governments, according to city arts consultant Dr. David Cwi. The National Assembly of State Arts Agencies estimates another \$110 million came from state agencies. According to the American Association of

Fund-Raising Counsel, Inc. the rest—about \$3.28 billion—came from private sources: foundations, corporations and individuals.

In calling for a reduction in federal arts funding, Reagan predicted that "support for the arts and humanities by the private sector" would increase, and since federal funds are such a small percentage of the total, it would seem that non-federal sources might easily make up for any cuts from Washington. But most experts don't think so. For one thing, federal support of a small dance company or theater tends to be a catalyst

for private donations, frequently by requiring matching donations from private sources. For another, changes in tax laws may actually discourage gift-giving by individuals and foundations.

Fifty years ago, any similar survey would no doubt have featured such names as Whitney, Guggenheim and Frick. Today, the dominant arts patrons are local governments and foundations, along with corporations that believe cultural contributions bring goodwill and enhance their communities.

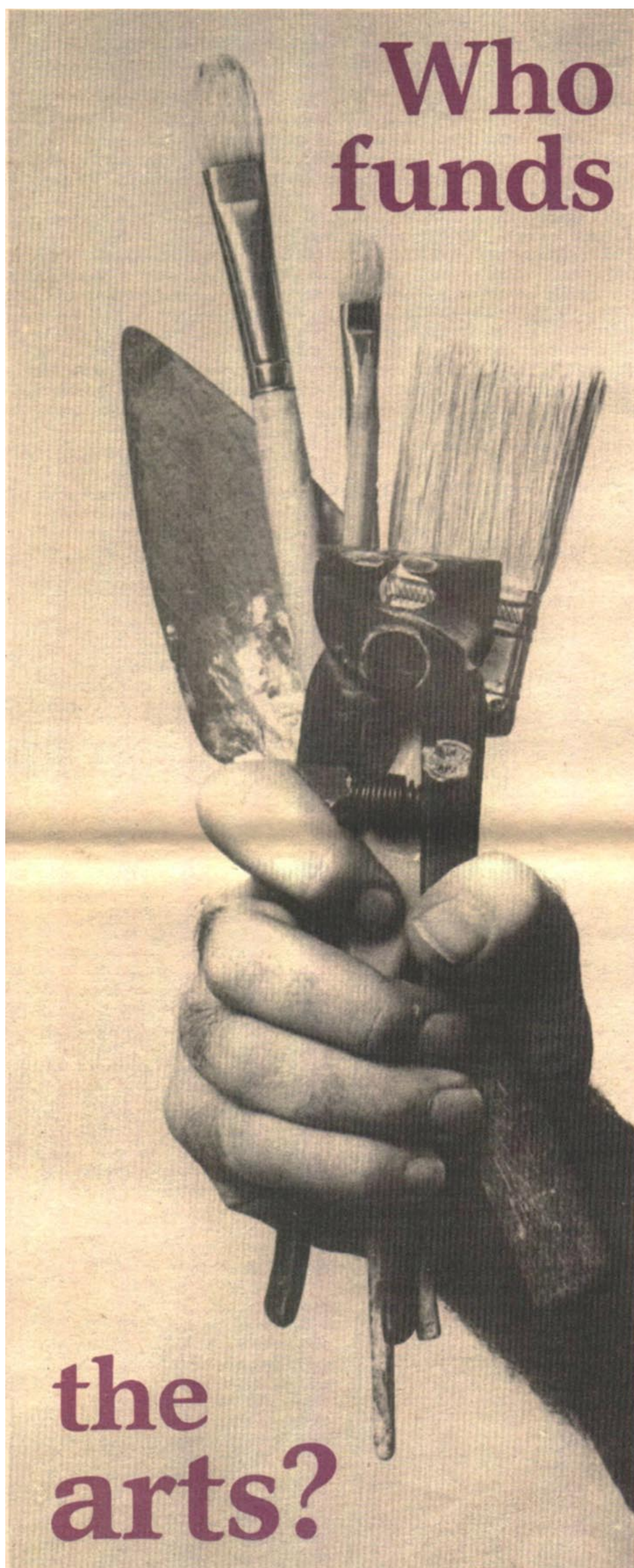
Of course, wealthy Americans still make substantial gifts to cultural institu-

tions. In 1981, for example, publisher Walter Annenberg pledged \$150 million to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (\$10 million annually over a 15-year period). But this contribution is earmarked for educational purposes rather than for arts support. Also in 1981, the late Harold Uris, a real-estate magnate, donated \$10 million to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art for an educational center. But this survey does not include individual donors, partly because few if any individuals give \$2 million or more on a regular, annual basis to the arts, and partly because private donations are often confidential.

This list suggests that, in some ways, the oil companies have become the Medicis of modern culture: Six oil companies made the list and two, Mobil and Exxon, are in the top 10. Other leading corporate donors: AT&T, Dayton Hudson, Philip Morris, IBM, United Technologies and R.J. Reynolds.

The list contains a few surprises. For instance, last year Milwaukee County ranked number 10—well ahead of many larger cities and counties, including Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Houston and Dallas. Milwaukee County Executive William O'Donnell considers arts support an important part of economic development: "We have to get people elected to public office who think there's nothing wrong with subsidizing the arts," he says. "It's like subsidizing a ball club." Another surprise: The Puerto Rican Institute of Culture, the local government arts agency for the island, budgeted more money for cultural activities in 1981 than any state except New York, California, Michigan and Ohio.

Among foundations, the most generous to the arts turned out not to be Ford or Rockefeller but the Pew Charitable Trusts of Philadelphia, a group of 10 trusts administered by the Glenmede Trust Company. The key contributors to the trusts were the children of Jos-



Rank

1. 1
2. 1
3. 1
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. 1
8. 1
- 9.
10. 1
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
17. 1
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
21. 1
- 22.
23. 1
24. 1
- 25.
- 26.
- 27.
27. 1
28. 1
- 29.
- 30.
31. 1
- 32.
- 33.
34. 1
- 35.
- 36.
37. 1
- 38.
- 39.
- 40.
41. 1
- 42.
- 43.
- 44.
45. 1
46. 1
- 46.
- 47.
48. 1
49. S
- 50.
50. I
- 50.
50. 1
50. 1
- 50.
- 50.
- 50.

Notes

- * Fi
- ** E
- *** Es
- (a) Inc
- (b) Inc
- (c) /
- (d) /
- (e) Inc
- (f) /
- (g) Dr

The support
tions, i
libraries
from o
Supp
stitution

Source

Infor
propria
Dr. Da
dollars
part on
mation
Business
ment a

IN THESE TIMES

1

2
3

4

The past six years have not been banner years for the American left. When we began publication in November 1976, we thought a new left was about to take shape from the social movements of the late '60s, the women's movement and the increasingly assertive left-wing of the unions. But during Jimmy Carter's administration it was the new right that consolidated and asserted itself, and the result was the election of Ronald Reagan and a broad-ranging attack on the social gains of the previous 15 years and on the welfare of working people.

Even so, starting with fewer than 3,000 subscribers in 1976, *In These Times* has survived and grown to be the longest-lived and most successful independent socialist newspaper to have begun publishing in the U.S. since the '20s. And in recent months, with Reagan conservatism showing every sign of political failure, we have received overwhelming support from our readers and a spurt of new subscribers that has brought our circulation to a new high of more than 26,000.

Last summer we were in our most serious crisis to date. To survive we needed to raise \$160,000, and we had nowhere to turn but to our readers. We thought we'd be lucky if we got more than half that amount, but the response was unbelievably supportive. Some 3,200 *ITT* subscribers—more than 13 percent—sent in contributions amounting to almost \$150,000, and contributions are still coming in.

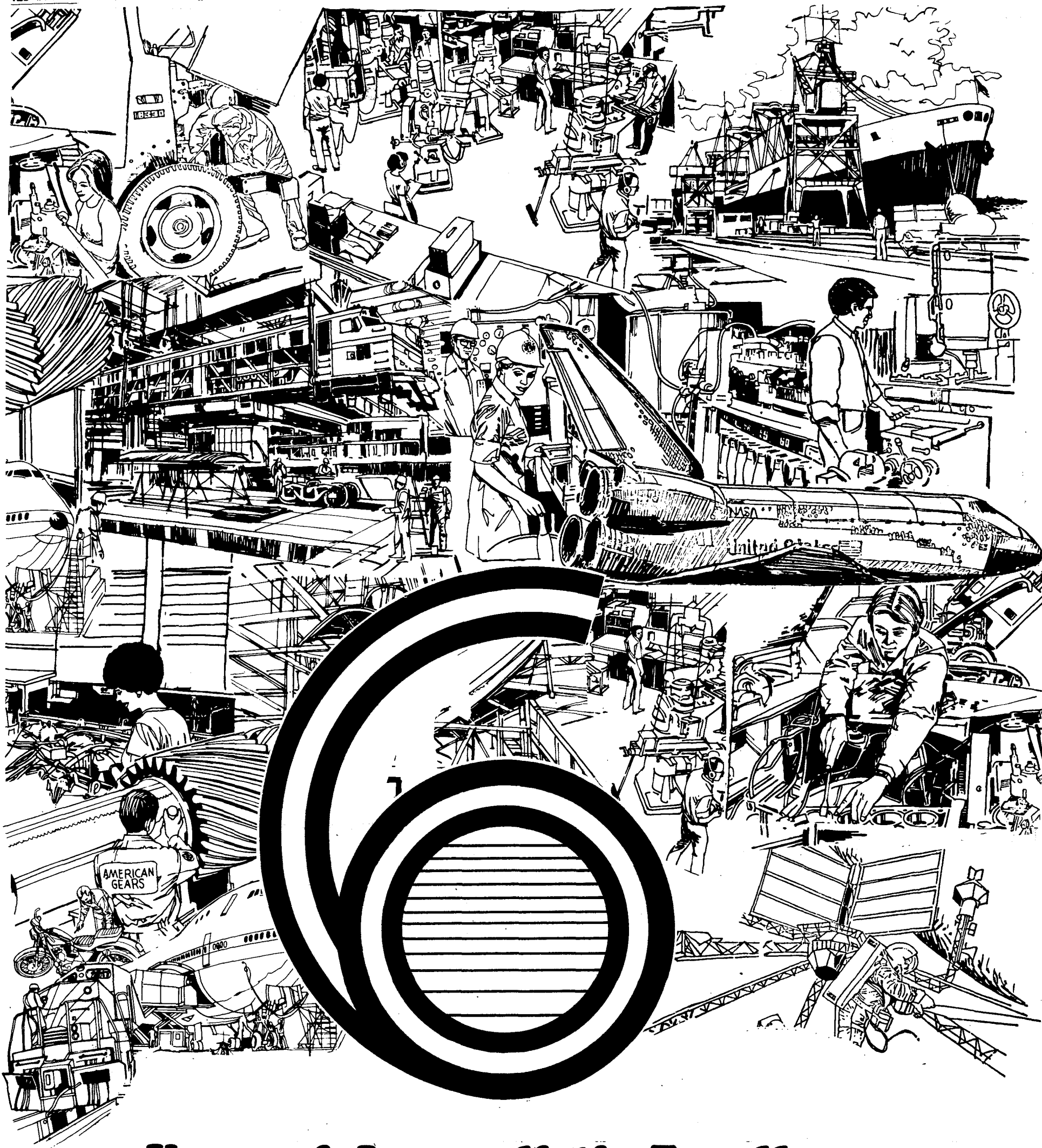
At the same time, our late summer direct mail campaign has been the most productive we've ever had. With subscriptions still arriving, we have a return of more than 3 percent—a figure that in the this time of direct mail glut is astounding. This campaign, along with some successful ads, has moved our circulation sharply ahead after a year of little or no growth, and it has prompted us to plan a subscription drive early next year with the goal of 10,000 new subscribers.

We believe that the support given us by our readers and the recent growth in our circulation are indications of a new spirit of determination and optimism on the American left, coupled with a growing awareness of the need for a press that will provide information, analysis and communication among the myriad groups working toward a new left politics for the '80s. The greeting ads in this issue support that belief. We are deeply grateful for them and for your support.

And now we are

6

5



Years of Journalistic Excellence

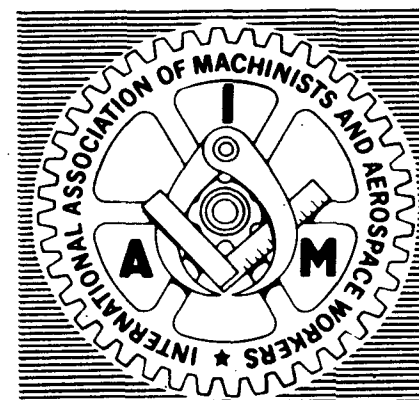
In these troubled times we appreciate IN THESE TIMES more than ever.

Toiling in the vineyards of human progress has, uniquely, a way of both compressing and expanding time.

On the one hand, six years of bringing balanced reporting and fair news coverage of major worker issues to the corporate-dominated media seems like the mere blink of an eyelash. On the other, those years serve only to show how long and how hard working men and women must fight to achieve and preserve their legitimate goals for themselves, their families and their country.

We in the Machinists Union speak from more than 94 years of experience on behalf of all American and Canadian workers.

We wish for IN THESE TIMES success, perseverance, and long life in the pursuit of the vital common goals.



William W. Winpisinger
International President

Eugene D. Glover
General Secretary-Treasurer

General Vice Presidents

Mike Rygus	Tom Ducey	Sal Iaccio	Roe Spencer	John Peterpaul	Stanley Jensen	Justin Ostro	George Poulin	Merle E. Pryor, Jr.
Ottawa, Ont.	Chicago, IL	New York, NY	Dallas, TX	Washington, DC	Portland, OR	Long Beach, CA	Washington, DC	Cleveland, OH

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Keep up the good fight for those who need help the most—the young and the old, the poor and the powerless, the minorities and the handicapped. A strong voice for social justice must not be stilled.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING AND TEXTILE WORKERS UNION, AFL-CIO/CLC

Murray H. Finley
President

Jack Sheinkman
Secretary-Treasurer

Fraternal Greetings

from



UAW—Region 9
Edward F. Gray, Director

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR SIXTH ANNIVERSARY



SOCIAL SERVICES UNION

Local 535, Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO
3750 West Sixth Street, Los Angeles, California 90005
(213) 385-9321

David Aroner
Northern Director

Jonathan Lepie
Los Angeles
Senior Field
Representative

Greetings on your Sixth Anniversary

Local 259, U.A.W.
Sam Meyers, President

SOLIDARITY FOREVER!

SEIU Local 585
237 Sixth Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15238
(412) 828-5100

Rosemary Trump... President



District 1199

NABET LOCAL 15

*Salutes In These Times
on its Sixth Anniversary*



Film and Video Tape Technicians
New York • Washington • Atlanta
Miami • Boston • San Francisco
1776 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019

National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees RSWSU AFL-CIO

On our 60th anniversary,
**WORKERS EDUCATION
LOCAL 189**
salutes in These Times for
6 years of insightful reporting.

NOW AVAILABLE:

The 1982-83 National Director of Workers Education, the most complete listing anywhere of labor films, music and musicians, union education depts., and other essential resources for labor educators. Send \$5 to: Workers Education Local 189, 2032 E. Grand Blvd., #210, Detroit, MI 48211.

**Workers'
Education
Local 189**



Greetings

Local 840, I.B. of T.

Bill Nuchow
Secretary/Treasurer

William O. Robertson
President

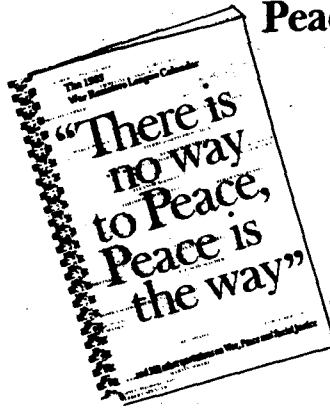
310 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Congratulations to *IN THESE TIMES*
and to your European Editor, **Diana Johnstone**, a Minnesota woman
against military madness, from her
sisters in Minnesota.

Women Against Military Madness

3255 Hennepin Avenue
Minneapolis, MN 55408
(612) 827-5362

**"There Is No Way To Peace,
Peace Is The Way"**



... and 266 other quotations about
war, peace and social justice

1983 War Resisters League Calendar

From Abigail Adams to John Peter Zenger, from Albert Camus to Al Capone, from Mother Jones to Martin Luther King, this calendar records how ideas about war and peace, racial and sexual oppression, labor struggles and countless more of the concerns that confront our lives have been summed up. Playwright and author Barbara Garson has provided an insightful (and delightful) introduction.

Handsome and informative, this calendar will prove useful every day of the year. The calendar has 128 pages, is wirebound for convenient opening and is ideal as an inexpensive gift. Order today!

\$5.00/four for \$18.00

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012

Greetings to *IN THESE TIMES*
on its Sixth Anniversary
from

**Christians for Socialism
in the U.S.**

National Steering Committee
Darlene Kalke, Art Lloyd,
Art Raab and Kathleen Schultz

for its eight Chapters
and its Members-at-Large
across the country.

CFS National Office
3540 14th Street
Detroit, MI 48208

Now more than ever,
we appreciate your work
as we intensify our own.

Congratulations.
We're glad you made it.
from your friends
at the Connecticut
Citizens Action Group.

Tom Corrigan
Chris Donovan
Rich Ferlauto
Jeffrey Freiser
Dennis Guillaume
Nick Nyhart
Donna Parson
Miles Rapoport
Peter Rawson



**FOR AN
AMERICAN MOVEMENT**

Any effective movement for transformation of American society must be based on a cohesive democratic social theory deeply rooted in and drawing its inspiration from the history, traditions and experience (especially the struggle for peace, freedom and social justice) of our own country and our own peoples.

**NEW PATRIOT
ALLIANCE**

John Rossen, Secretary
Rm. 705, 343 So. Dearborn,
Chicago, IL 60604
(312) 663-1664

Congratulations on your
Sixth Anniversary

fla

minnesota farmer-labor association
3255 hennepin avenue south
minneapolis, minnesota 55408

Congratulations
to

In These Times
from the staff and leaders at
**MASSACHUSETTS
FAIR SHARE**

Congratulations.

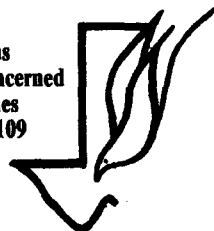
We look forward to your
contribution
in the years to come.

**citizen/labor
energy coalition**

National Office:
600 W. Fullerton,
Chicago, IL 60614
(312) 975-3680

Washington Office:
Room 401,
1300 Connecticut Ave.,
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 857-5153

Northwest Texas
Clergy and Laity Concerned
2031 C S. Hughes
Amarillo, TX 79109



Thanks for your support...

We need ITT now
more than ever!

Every week *In These Times* demonstrates
that there are viable progressive alternatives
to the problems our government
finds insurmountable.

Continue the good work.

Illinois Public Action Council
59 East Van Buren Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

5539 W. Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, Ca. 90019



**CITIZENS PARTY
of California**

2101B Woolsey
Berkeley, Ca. 94705

Happy Anniversary

Wishing you another year of survival and growth.

Citizens Party of Illinois
109 North Dearborn
Chicago, Illinois 60602

A Hearty Congratulations
on your 6th Year
of Outstanding Work

In Solidarity,

**MIDWEST
ACADEMY**

Congratulations
from
Citizens Party of Minnesota

We are alive, well
and growing stronger!

The Citizens Party of Texas
Houston Chapter
says,
Thanks!

If you read *IN THESE TIMES*,
you need
THE CITIZENS PARTY

We are the electoral expression
of progressive politics.
(Congratulations to both of us!)

JOIN NOW!
Write or Call:

The Citizens Party
1623 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 232-3996



Thank you *In These Times*
for your coverage of foreign affairs

From the Coalition: American Baptist Churches USA, National Ministries • American Friends Service Committee • Americans for Democratic Action • Business Executives Move for National Priorities • Center for International Policy • Center of Concern • Chile Legislative Center • Church of the Brethren, Washington Office • Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) Department of Church and Society • Church Women United • Clergy and Laity Concerned • Council on Hemispheric Affairs • Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee • Episcopal Peace Fellowship • Fellowship of Reconciliation • Friends Committee on National Legislation • Friends of the Earth • Friends of the Filipino People • Institute for Food and Development Policy • Jubilee, Inc./The Other Side • Mennonite Central Committee U.S. Peace Section • Movement for a Free Philippines • National Assembly of Women Religious • National Association of Social Workers • National Council of Churches • National Federation of Priests' Councils, USA • National Gray Panthers • National Office of Jesuit Social Ministries • NETWORK • SANE • Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace • Union of American Hebrew Congregations • Unitarian Universalist Association • Unitarian Universalist Service Committee • United Church of Christ, Board for Homeland Ministries • United Church of Christ, Office for Church in Society • United Methodist Church, Board of Church and Society • United Methodist Church, Board of Global Ministries, Women's Division • United Presbyterian Church, USA, Washington Office • United States Student Association • War Resisters League • Washington Office of the Episcopal Church • Washington Office on Africa • Washington Office on Latin America • Women's International League for Peace and Freedom • Women Strike for Peace • World Federalist Association • World Peacemakers • Young Women's Christian Association USA

COALITION
For a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington D.C., 20002

The Peace Movement Continued



NEW JEWISH AGENDA

MAZEL TOV TO IN THESE TIMES ON YOUR
6th YEAR ANNIVERSARY—May you have another 120!

New Jewish Agenda is a national organization committed to Jewish peoplehood and to fostering a progressive voice both within the Jewish community and society at large.

Our twenty-four chapters organize on issues such as nuclear disarmament, co-existence between Israelis and Palestinians, and anti-Semitism and racism.

Name _____ Address _____

☐ I would like to join New Jewish Agenda. Here is my tax-deductible dues of
\$15 \$25 \$50 other.

☐ Please send me information about New Jewish Agenda.

1123 Broadway, Room 1217, New York, NY 10010, (212) 620-0828

Greetings on your Sixth Anniversary
from



ACORN
Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now
1638 R Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009

"To turn your back on the corrupt Republican and Democratic Parties
—the gold-dust twins of the ruling class—counts for something. It counts for
still more after you have stepped out of those popular and corrupt capitalist parties
to join a minority party that has an ideal, that stands for a principle,
and fights for a cause."

—Eugene V. Debs, "Canton Ohio Speech," 1918



The democratic socialist party of
Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas

The Socialist Party

1011 North Third Street
Milwaukee, WI 53203
Tel.: (414) 276-0773
Cables: SOCIALISTS, Milwaukee

Best Wishes on your Sixth Anniversary

The Democratic Socialists of America—Michigan
409 Griswold—Mezzanine
Detroit, MI 48226

What this country needs is a good socialist youth movement!

GREETINGS FROM THE DSA YOUTH SECTION

Chicago Branch Office
Democratic Socialists of America

Announces its new location:
1300 West Belmont Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60657
(312) 871-7700

Best Wishes to our new neighbors,
IN THESE TIMES

Sixth Anniversary Greetings from the
Champaign-Urbana
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS
of AMERICA
Publishers of

**DOWNSTATE
LEFT**

Downstate Illinois' Socialist Voice
\$5.00/yr.; \$3.00/yr. limited income
Box 2182, Sta. A, Champaign, IL 61820

Come In Out of the Cold

Join Buffalo DSA
P.O. Box 404
Buffalo, NY 14205
(716) 837-9609 or 883-1275

Congratulations

Westchester DSA
Box 323
Harrison, NY 10528

Congratulations to

In These Times

From your friends and comrades in

**DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS
OF AMERICA**

853 Broadway
New York, NY 10003
(212) 260-3270

1300 W. Belmont Ave.
Chicago, IL 60657
(312) 871-7700

29 29th St.
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 550-1849

Take it easy,
but take it!

DSA
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS
of AMERICA

Chico Local
P.O. Box 3261
Chico, CA 95927

*Congratulations
from
Democratic Socialists
of America
Irvine, CA*

**greetings to
in these times
on its 6th anniversary
san diego**
dsa
p.o. box 15635
san diego, ca 92115

CONGRATULATIONS

San Francisco
Democratic Socialists
of America
29 Twenty-Ninth Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

YOU CAN'T HUG WITH NUCLEAR ARMS

More than 225 black and white photos of the historic June 12th New York disarmament rally. With quotations from speakers and demonstrators and a forward by William Sloane Coffin.

Institute for Policy Studies
1901 Q Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009

\$10.95/each—inquire about bulk discounts

Congratulations to *IN THESE TIMES*
from the editors and staff of
THE BULLETIN
OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS
on the event of your
Sixth Anniversary.

THE BULLETIN

OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS



IN THESE TIMES
is essential
to our well-being
so is good taste

read

HOW TO TEST AND IMPROVE YOUR WINE JUDGING ABILITY

by Irving H. Marcus

The definitive work in the field.
96 pages, attractively bound.
\$3.75 plus 90¢ shipping.

WINE PUBLICATIONS
96 Parnassus Rd. Berkeley 94708

Happy Birthday

The Real Comet Press
932 18th Avenue East
Seattle, WA 98112
(206) 328-1801

Publisher of Artists' Books

Congratulations

from

The Pilgrim Press
Publishers of *Images of Labor, In Mine and Mill,*
Shopping Bag Ladies, and *Power and Light.*

The Pilgrim Press

The Pilgrim Press, 132 West 31 Street, New York, N.Y. 10001
Write for our complete catalog.

IN THESE TIMES
Your news shapes
our views.
Happy Sixth

Institute for Food and
Development Policy
2588 Mission, San Francisco
CA 94110, (415) 648-6090

Write for our free book catalog

The national grassroots membership
organization dedicated to empowering
people for social change in rural America.

Rural America

National Office
1900 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 202/659-2800
Midwest Office
550 Eleventh Street, Des Moines, Iowa 50309 515/244-5671
Southeast Office
4795 McWillie Drive, Jackson, Mississippi 39206 601/362-2260

To IN THESE TIMES In Health and for health

HEALTH PAC BULLETIN

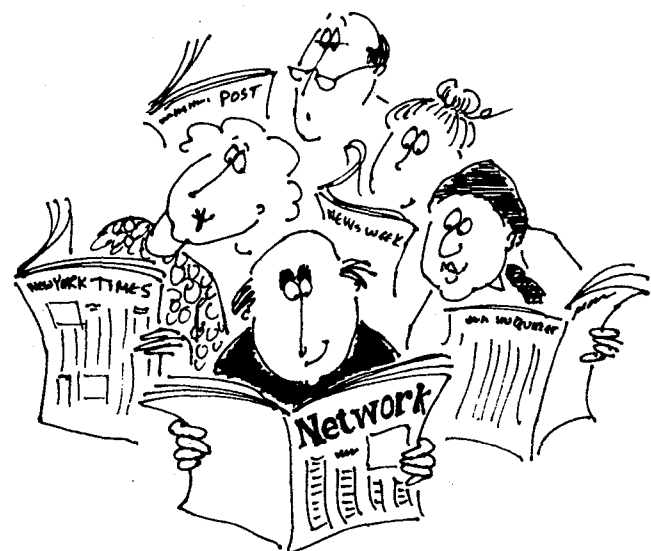
HEALTH/PAC
HEALTH POLICY ADVISORY CENTER
17 MURRAY STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10007

"This tabloid is all about problems and promises
of elderly living, struggle against age discrimina-
tion and the wit, spirit and wisdom of the remark-
able Maggie Kuhn."

—RALPH NADER

"The only periodical with a national distribution
which speaks militantly for the elderly."

—LIBRARY JOURNAL



YOU HAVEN'T READ THE NEWS UNLESS YOU'VE READ

Gray Panther Network

☐ YES, I want **NETWORK**, the alternative bimonthly newspaper. I
enclose a check or money order in the amount of \$8.00 for an individual
subscription for one year, \$15.00 for institutions and libraries, and
\$25.00 for foreign addresses.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make check payable to the GRAY PANTHER PROJECT FUND. Contributions to the
PROJECT FUND are tax deductible. Mail to:
THE GRAY PANTHERS, 3635 Chestnut St., Phila., PA 19104.

MERIP REPORTS



Special Issue: War in Lebanon

For more than a decade, MERIP Reports has pro-
vided the most incisive coverage of Middle East
developments and US policy there. With this special
issue, MERIP's network of researchers and corres-
pondents bring you clear, well-documented ac-
counts of the events that shattered the summer of
1982.

- Reports from Washington, Beirut, Jerusalem and
the West Bank
- Noam Chomsky on the disarmament movement
and the invasion
- Eyewitness accounts and exclusive photos

This special double issue, regularly \$4, is **free** with a
new subscription to MERIP Reports. For \$16.95, you
get a full year (9 issues) of the one magazine essential
for understanding the Middle East and US policy—
plus this special issue.

- ☐ I enclose **\$16.95** for a year's subscription.
Send me your special double issue free.
☐ I enclose **\$4 plus 70 cents** postage and
handling for MERIP's new double issue, War
in Lebanon.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send your check or money order today to MERIP Reports (L)
PO Box 1247
New York, NY 10025

Greetings

off our backs supports the left (and ITT with this greeting). Does the left support radical feminism? Consider subscribing to **off our backs**, a national feminist news journal, publishing for 13 years. \$11/year for a regular sub, \$15 for those who can afford a contributing sub. Free sample copy (include \$1 for postage if you can spare the \$\$\$...)

off our backs

1841 Columbia Road, NW, Washington, DC 20009

Greetings*We wish you many more productive years*

Monthly Review



Congratulations
on your sixth anniversary.

THE PROGRESSIVE

409 East Main Street Madison, WI 53703 (608) 257-4626

*Working Papers salutes In These Times
on its Sixth Anniversary*

WORKING PAPERS

Working Papers
186 Hampshire Street
Cambridge, MA 02139
Send \$1.00 for sample issue.

● **MOTHER JONES**
wishes ITT another era of
HAPPY HELLRAISING!

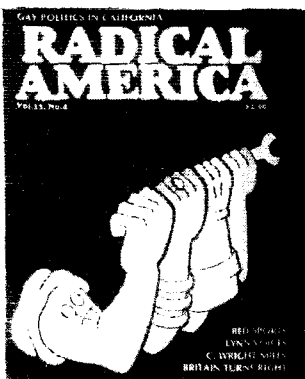
The Fight Against Racism
must be accompanied by
The Fight Against Anti-Semitism

Greetings from
JEWISH CURRENTS
progressive monthly
Morris U. Schappes, editor
22 E. 17th St., N.Y. 10003
Subscriptions: \$10/yr.

*Greetings and Best Wishes
for continued growth*

The Texas Observer

Happy Anniversary
ITT



New left getting old, democrats not so social, far right not so far away... try **Radical America**, journal of American dissidents since 1967. Sample copy: \$2. RA, Box 11, 38 Union Sq., Somerville, MA 02143.

IF YOU'RE
WORRIED ABOUT
THE COUNTRY,
TRY
The Nation.

**60% OFF
NEWSSTAND PRICE**

**SAVE AN
ADDITIONAL \$3.00**

P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for \$12.00, a savings of 60% off the newsstand price and 30% off the regular subscription price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

- ☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with
FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

NAME _____
(PLEASE PRINT)
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

SEND *THE NATION* TO A FRIEND! (And save \$3.)

Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just \$12.00 for the first and \$9.00 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

GIFT TO _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

- ☐ Enclosed is \$ _____ for _____ subscription(s).
(Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)
☐ Bill me later.

Add \$3.50 postage for subscriptions in Canada and Mexico, \$6.50 for other foreign countries. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

Greetings!

Harold Leventhal Management Inc.

Loom Productions

Woody Guthrie Publishers, Inc.



250 West 57th Street
New York, NY 10107

Congratulations in These Times!

The Live Oak Fund for Change is the public foundation that provides financial support to Texas grassroots organizations working to effect fundamental social, political and economic change. Grantees have included groups struggling for minorities' and women's rights, environmental conservation, veterans' health and nuclear disarmament.

Your tax-deductible gift of cash or securities will enable us to help others create a more just society. Please direct inquiries to John Hart, Administrator, Live Oak Fund, 500 W. 13th St., Austin, Texas 78701.

Congratulations and Best Wishes on your sixth anniversary

The Film Fund

Congratulations to I.T.T. from N.Y.Z.

Books on media, film, politics
The French Revolution Calendar
Les Brown's Encyclopedia of TV
Hollywood: The First Hundred Years
The Screenwriter's Guide
Cuadra's Guide to Online Data Bases

Call or write for free catalog:

New York Zoetrope, 80 East 11th Street, Dept. 1, New York, NY 10003, (212) 420-0590

Congratulations on your Sixth Anniversary IN THESE TIMES

You are a critical source for information on the progressive community at home as well as internationally.

Cordially,
FUNDING EXCHANGE

Congratulations IN THESE TIMES on your 6th!

Offering the finest in American Independent films—highlighting social and political issues in these times...

FIRST RUN FEATURES

144 Bleecker Street
New York City 10012
(212) 673-6881

FILMS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE



California Newsreel

630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103

New College Graduate School of Psychology—San Francisco

An accredited graduate training to become a psychotherapist and social change agent.

Dr. Michael Lerner, Dr. Peter Gabel, Dr. Richard Lichtman, Lee Shore, Wendy Lichtman, Dr. Michael Bader, Dr. Terry Kupers and Rachel Peltz.

Congratulates
IN THESE TIMES

Mazel Tov

Institute for Labor and Mental Health
Oakland, CA

Congratulations to In These Times on your continued good work

Community Media Productions
325 Grafton Avenue
Dayton, Ohio 45406



Order copies from Media Network, 208 W. 13th St., New York, NY 10011. Single copies: \$1.00. Bulk rates: 2-10 copies: \$.75 each; 11 or more copies: \$.50 each.

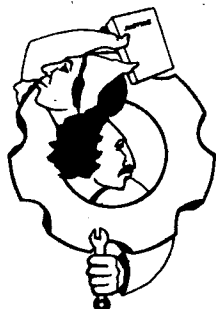
Highlander Research and Education Center
New Market, Tennessee
celebrating its 50th anniversary

congratulates
IN THESE TIMES
on its 6th

Congratulations and Long Life to IN THESE TIMES

from the staff of
MEDIA ALLIANCE
San Francisco

Jim Greenberg Annette Doornbas
Bernard Ohanian Daniel Ben-Horin



Peoples College of Law is In Solidarity with In These Times on your sixth anniversary

PCL's goals are to train peoples' lawyers and have a student body of two-thirds Third World/Working Class students with 50% women.

Admission is based primarily on the demonstrated commitment to the struggle for social change.

Peoples College of Law
660 South Bonnie Brae Street
Los Angeles, California 90057
(213) 483-0083

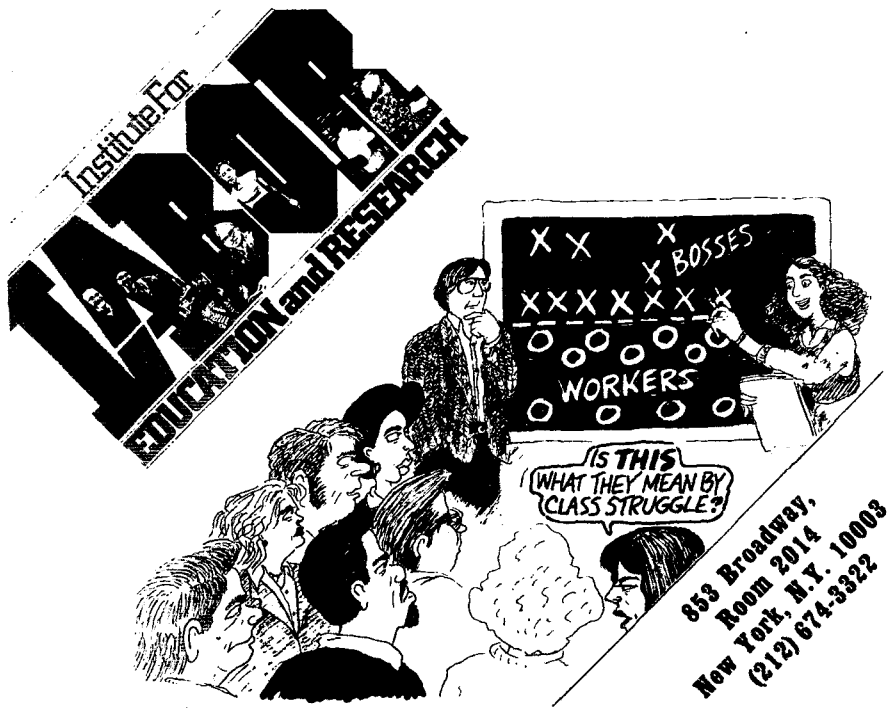
WE SUPPLY ECONOMICS FOR PEOPLE, NOT PROFITS

REAGONOMICS is economics for the rich... But it means job loss, public service cutbacks, wasteful military spending, union-busting, dirtier air and water, and occupational health & safety deregulation for the rest of us. Working and poor people and social change activists know that understanding economics is crucial to fighting against the attacks by the Reagan Administration and the corporations and for jobs, economic justice and social progress.

The CENTER FOR POPULAR ECONOMICS provides week-end workshops and a week-long Summer Institute for Popular Economics on the current economic crisis and Reaganomics, inflation & unemployment, labor issues, multinational corporations and runaway shops, the economics of racism and sexism and more.



For more information about the Center for Popular Economics and its educational programs, write to the
CENTER FOR POPULAR ECONOMICS, Box 785, Amherst, Mass. 01004



*Best Wishes on your
Sixth Anniversary*

California Federation of Teachers
AFT/AFL-CIO

Congratulations to IN THESE TIMES

Have you read
MEAN THINGS HAPPENING IN THIS LAND,
the book about the historic, socialist-led struggle
of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union?

Hardcover copies available at \$10.95 postpaid from:

STFU Association, Inc.
Box 2617, Montgomery, AL 36105

**A Progressive Union Salutes
A Good Progressive Newspaper**

District 65

U.A.W.



**HUNGER &
POWER**

The world produces enough food for all. Even the so-called basket case countries like Bangladesh are capable of providing their entire populations with an adequate diet. Yet millions—mostly children—go hungry, become ill and die.

Without guilt trips or false optimism, the 1983 World Hunger Year calendar provides daily reminders of the world-wide struggle of the poor for food. The theme of this year's calendar, self-reliance, tends away from notions of breadbasket America, charity or the benevolence of big multinationals.

An essay by Susan George (author of *How the Other Half Dies*) reminds us that committed people can do a lot to end hunger. Some of her organizing suggestions may surprise you, but they are a reliable guide for the "hunger militant."

The calendar itself, a spiral-bound 96-page book, is perfect for keeping your schedule and is suitable as a gift. Powerful photographs, essays and pointed date entries combine to sum up the message of food self-reliance.

**World Hunger Year
CALENDAR**

Return with your check or money order to:
World Hunger Year Calendar,
350 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013

I'm enclosing \$6.50 plus \$1.00 for postage and handling.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

Quantity prices: \$6.50 for the first nine calendars, \$5.50 top and up. Postage and handling: \$1 for the first calendar to an address; \$.50 for each additional calendar to the same address.

*Best Wishes on Your
Sixth Anniversary*

AWD

The Association for
Workplace Democracy
1747 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 265-7727

Happy Anniversary

Roslyn Sherman
International Vice-President
United Hatters
Cap and Millinery Workers

*Best Wishes for continuing your
important role in advancing
progressive politics.*

Headwear and Allied
Workers Joint Board
John Hudson, President

*Congratulations
on your
6th anniversary*

American Labor Education Center
1835 Kilbourne Place, NW
Washington, DC 20010

Congratulations

Congress of Labor
Union Women (C.L.U.W.)
St. Louis Chapter

**Greetings from
Labor Notes**

Don't Miss This Conference:
'Organizing Against Concessions'
November 12-14 • Detroit

For information:
Write: Box 20001, Detroit, MI 48220
Phone: 313/883-5580

*Greetings from
SOLIDARITY/
INTERNATIONAL*

American labor supporting
workers around the world

Box 53167, Washington, DC 20009

*Congratulations In These Times
on your 6th Anniversary*

*Freedom from oppression
for all peoples!
Yachad navek al shalom.
(Together we'll struggle
for peace.)*

*your friends at
Ichud Habonim-Dror*

Best Wishes

Pacific News Service

**In Memory of
Sylvia Angus
1921-82**

*"In These Times is coming
now. It is fascinating and full
of my own opinions. I hadn't
quite realized it before, but I
guess what I am is really a so-
cialist. Hah!" Winter 1981*

Alan Snitow
Ann Snitow
Sandra Chelnov

*I'm glad that
IN THESE TIMES has
taken the responsibility
to stand up for the
backbone of the world
—the working person.
Power corrupts and the
corrupt ones seem as
though they're about
to crumble. Keep
strength of character by
your side. Best wishes
for a long and
prosperous life.*

—John Slovynec

IN SOLIDARITY

from two avid readers
from OPEIU8

Joe Dear and Ross Rieder
Seattle, WA

**Congratulations &
Best Wishes**

Bob Baugh
Secretary-Treasurer
Oregon AFL-CIO

DeVill's
Psychotherapy
and
Tucking
Service

Congratulations
from
Bay Wolf Restaurant & Cafe
3853 Piedmont Avenue
Oakland, CA 94611

ALAN BICKLEY PRODUCTIONS
NARRATIONS•COMMERCIALS•EDITING
1750 HENLEY STREET #18
GLENVIEW, ILLINOIS 60025
312-724-6474 312-951-3208

¡ADELANTE!
Salsedo Press
320 N. DAMEN CHICAGO ILLINOIS 60612
(312) 666-1674

Congratulations

Kirsch Association for
Marxist Studies
University of Massachusetts—
Boston
Boston, MA 02125

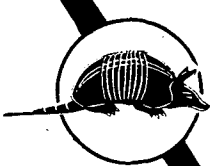
Best Wishes

Ruth Persky,
Certified Shorthand Reporter
#5673
Los Angeles, CA
(213) 933-4341

Congratulations
on your
Sixth Revolution

CHICAGO WOMEN'S
GRAPHICS COLLECTIVE

P.O. Box 25429
Chicago, IL 60625



ARMADILLO & CO.
DISTRIBUTORS
VENICE, CALIFORNIA 90291

Greetings
from
The Berkshire Forum
Stephentown, NY

Planning for the physical environment of the work place
Solar energy use in new and old structures
Low cost houses and housing
Mixed use development
Sweat equity consultation

Miller Pollin & Snyder
Architects & Planners
633 Spruce St. 308 West 109 St. #8
Riverside, Ca. 92507 New York, N.Y. 10025

Greetings &
Best Wishes
NEW LOCATION
Guild Books
2456 N. Lincoln Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

FREE OUR
SECRETARIES

Russo, Weintraub & Bellia

We Support In These Times
STEEL & BELLMAN, P.C.
Specializing in Civil Rights, Labor and Personal Injury

Attorneys
New York City
(212) 925-7400

Bookstores that carry and support
In These Times

GUILD BOOKS
2456 North Lincoln Avenue
Chicago, IL 60614

MODERN TIMES BOOKSTORE
968 Valencia Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

COMMON CONCERNS
1347 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036

FREDDY'S FEED AND READ
1221 Helen Avenue
Missoula, MT 59801

HORIZON BOOKSTORE
517 South Goodwin
Urbana, IL 61801

HUNGRY MIND BOOKSTORE
1648 Grand Avenue
St. Paul, MN 55105

TALKING LEAVES BOOKS
3144 Main Street
Buffalo, NY 14214

FIFTH AVENUE NEWS
820 S.W. Fifth Avenue
Portland, OR 97204

THE REGULATOR BOOKSHOP
720 Ninth Street
Durham, NC 27705

LEFT BANK BOOKS
92 Pike
Seattle, WA 98101

RED LETTER BOOKS
666 Amsterdam Avenue
New York, NY 10025


Greetings to
IN THESE TIMES
From the
Law Offices Of

MARY MOCINE,
JOHN PLOTZ
&
JAMES
EGGLESTON

Labor Lawyers at
1440 Broadway
Suite 1000
Oakland, CA 94612
(415) 452-1300

Greetings

MALONE, DORFMAN
& TAUBER, P.C.
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
12 East Park Ave.
Long Beach, N.Y. 11561
(516) 432-1200
147 W. Merrick Rd.
Freeport, N.Y. 11520
(516) 379-2500



Dan Wershow
Lawyer

438 24th Ave. East
Seattle, WA 98112, (206) 325-7400

Greetings
WAYNE ROBERTS ASSOCIATES, INC.
Pensions & Employee Benefit Plans
Life & Disability Insurance
575 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) 688-2600

"there is no progress without struggle"
Frederick Douglass

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 Grace Avenue • Great Neck, N.Y. 11021 • 212-895-7005 or 516-466-4642

*We wish you
many, many more*

The Greater Philadelphia *These Times* Associates

Support

IN THESE TIMES

Mathew Barton

**HAPPY ANNIVERSARY
TO
IN THESE TIMES
FROM
STEVE MAYER
AND
EVELYN FRANK**

*To the best newspaper
in America
from*

Nancy Schwartz and
Andrei Markovits
Middletown & New Haven, CT
Boston, MA and
Frankfurt, West Germany

Greetings from Radio Amateurs

**Fred Olson,
WBØYQM
Elizabeth Brackett,
NØCAH**

INDIVIDUAL GREETINGS

Bob Quartell
Jim Talcott
Stuart Allen
Maxine Phillips
Greg Driscoll
Robert J. Havighurst
Richard B. Du Boff
Ronald Myers
Elizabeth Sachs
Richard & Lois Mandel
Carroll Barnes
Larry & Blanche Rubin
Ed Ramthun
Paul & Heather Booth
Jonathan Rees
David Clennon
Mal Warwick
Ray Bennett
Rowland Watts
Charles Mann
J. Stuart Gay
Lucy Cornstock
Lynn & Barton Lane

Evelyn & John Stephens
Rick Langfitt
Gordon Fellman
Shirley & Irving Gold
Charles E. Hutchcraft
Lawrence S. Wittner
Dorothy Tristman
Ike Balbus
Lester Goldner
Deborah Rand
Patrick Lacefield
Hannah, Emma, Sigrid
& Bob Pollin
Harry K. Suss
Bruce Calder
Elsbeth Revere
Doug Hoffman
Joanne Ruby
Lou Pardo
Irwin H. Rosenthal
Paul Novick
Sara & Rubi Lieberman
Donald D'Elia

Bill Prutzman
Bernard Kent Markwell
Clifford Julstrom
Herb Semmel
Linnea Capps
Philip H. Van Gelder
Hannah & Alan Levin
George & Gertrude Dixon
Estelle & Leo Bloch
Roger S. Wilson
Renee Kallinius
Lenora Davis
Happy Anniversary
John Womack, Jr.
In Solidarity
Wendy Lidell
Keep on plugging
Mr. & Mrs. W.S. Graves
Here's to long life!
Best from
the Schmengys
Best Wishes
from your friends in
West Orrtanna, PA!

*Thanks for the continued
inspiration
love,
Carole and Peter*

*Unemployed in Chicago in
the 30s
Paul Kimberly*

*Thanks for staying in there
for six years
Peter Miovic*

*Fuck Reaganomics
Kurt O. Findeisen*

*Greetings
Elinor and Walter McKay*

*In Struggle
Bob & Rachel DuPlessis*

*Thanks for a perspective I
can't get elsewhere
Burt Schachter*

*To an indispensable
institution
Neil G. & Wendy I. Kotler*

*For a long life. May your
voice rise above the thunder
of hypocrisy
Denise D'Anne*

BEST WISHES ON YOUR SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

You can count on our support in
the next six years.

THE PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATES of *IN THESE TIMES*

120 trade unions, organizations and individuals
committed to furthering the growth and
development of *In These Times*

Zolton Ferency
President
David Rathke
Secretary/Treasurer

Roberta Lynch
Vice-President
Lewis Steel
Financial Chair

Happy Sixth Anniversary from In These Times Sustainers

JANE AND BOB FESSENDEN
Santa Cruz, CA

LAUREN W. KAPLAN
Northfield, MA

JERRY ROBINETT
Tucson, AZ

WILLIAM A. MINNEMAN
Bloomington, IL

PACI HAMMOND
Oakland, CA

RUBE DIAMOND
Van Nuys, CA

D. ALAN CURRY
Hubbard, OH

TOM AND SARA MAYER
Boulder, CO

JACK KIRBY
Granville, OH

STEPHEN C. CONDIT
Hutchinson, KS

ROBERT SPICH
Bellingham, WA

LAWRENCE GELLER
Philadelphia, PA

**DIANNE BENNETT AND
WILLIAM GRAEBNER**
Buffalo, NY

BOB MUNSON
San Francisco, CA

GARY WEISSMAN
Minneapolis, MN 55405

THOMAS McMENANIN
New York, NY

**HUGH AND SUZANNA
O'DONNELL**
St. Paul, VA

VERA AND MEYER BAYLIN
Mill Valley, CA

BERNIE JONES
Denver, CO

MARC ALAN MINICK
Clarksville, NY

THEODORE KAUFMAN
Brooklyn, NY

CASEY McKEEVER
Woodland, CA

PHILIP LICHTENBERG
Rosemont, PA

AMELIA FRANK
Santa Barbara, CA

MARY APPELMAN
Downers Grove, IL

CARL SUGAR, M.D.
Los Angeles, CA

DASH ANTEL
Sacramento, CA

**DONALD & DIANA
ROTHMAN**
Santa Cruz, CA

NANCY AND FRED ROSEN
Esopus, NY

LAWRENCE KRAMER
New York, NY

PAT MADSEN
Denver, CO

HELEN L. TRAVIS
San Pedro, CA

ERIC B. DECKER
Santa Cruz, CA

ANNA AND HARRY RAND
New York, NY

FREDERIC G. MELCHER
Chicago, IL

ROGER MONTGOMERY
Berkeley, CA

CALVIN CAHAN
Austin, TX

JAMES MASON
Wichita, KS

DR. MARGARET HAMILTON
Michigan City, IN

ELIZABETH BLACKER
Oakland, CA

ROBERT HALBEISEN
Detroit, MI

DARYL L. MONK
Corvallis, OR

**FRANK AND
LAVERNE WINN**
Monmouth, ME

BILL WALKER
Deleware, OH

JEAN BIGHAM
Orinda, CA

ROBERT GARMAN
South Bend, IN

GLORIA SAMSON
Rochester, NY

DAVID A. SPRINTZEN
Syosset, NY

CHARLOTTE KLOSE
Bronx, NY

ERNEST FIELD
Cleveland, OH

LOUIS B. PARDO
Chicago, IL

DAVID SCHWEICKART
Dover, NH

DONNA BIRD
Averill Park, NY

STEVE ROSSWURM
Lake Forest, IL

DICK AND MICKEY FLACKS
Santa Barbara, CA

JOAN AND DONALD SCOTT
Providence, RI

WAYNE K. HARRIMAN
San Francisco, CA

GLENNA MATTHEWS
Stillwater, OK

STACEY HEITZIG
Arvada, CA

MIKE GROSSMAN
Minneapolis, MN

JOHN DOUGHERTY
New York, NY

CARL MARZANI
New York, NY

RICHARD WALKER
San Diego, CA

LAWRENCE J. SCHEFF
Chicago, IL

JIM RATLIFF
Austin, TX

HAROLD ROSSMAN
Berkeley, CA

WILLIAM GROTE
San Diego, CA

**HARRIET AND JACK
GOLDRING**
Bridgeport, CT

**HERB AND ANNAMAY
SHEPPARD**
West Orange, NJ

JIM MULLINS
Berkeley, CA

Leading Donors to the Arts

Organization	Amounts appropriated in millions of dollars for calendar year 1981 unless noted.	Percent change from previous year
National Endowment for the Arts	143*	- 10
National Endowment for the Humanities (a)	130.6*	- 14
New York State Council on the Arts	35.4*	+ 6.8
Department of Cultural Affairs, City of New York	28.8*	+ 34
Pew Charitable Trusts	13.1	+ 56
California Arts Council	12.8*	+ 20.5
Sun Oil Corp. and the Mobil Foundation	12	+ 33
Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	11.6	+ 15
Johnson Corp.	9**	+ 30
Waukegan County	8.7	+ 16
AT&T Bell System (AT&T) (b)	7.15	+ 12
Rockefeller Foundation	7.07	+ 4
City of Philadelphia	7*	0
City of San Francisco	6.7***	+ 63
City of Chicago	6.6**	+ 32
City of Houston	6.2	+ 16**
Michigan Council for the Arts (c)	6*	+ 20
Ohio Arts Council (d)	5.53*	+ 17.4
Texaco Inc. and the Texaco Philanthropic Foundation	5.55**	+ 25
Puerto Rican Institute of Culture	5.46*	- 8.6
Manson Foundation	5.3	+ 15
The Vincent Astor Foundation (e)	5.1	+ 54
Alaska State Council on the Arts	4.7*	+ 143.5
Antic-Richfield Foundation	4.5	- 21
City of Baltimore	4.4*	+ 15
Pennsylvania Council on the Arts	4.05*	+ 32
Ford Foundation	4	+ 185
Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities	4*	0
Lynton Hudson Foundation	3.84**	+ 1
Florida Arts Council of Florida	3.83*	+ 81.1
National Endowment	3.5	- 3
Metropolitan Dade County	3.34*	- 7
Philip Morris	3.3**	+ 30
City of Portland	3.2*	+ 74**
John G. Carter Foundation	3.1	+ 12
New Jersey State Council on the Arts	3*	+ 1.9
James Irvine Foundation (f)	2.98***	+ 42
McArthur Foundation	2.93**	+ 291
Illinois Arts Council	2.9*	- 9.4
Esge Foundation	2.8	- 28
Down Foundation	2.73**	- 14
Missouri Arts Council	2.72*	+ 9.3
Elf Oil Corp. and the Gulf Foundation (g)	2.7	+ 35
City of San Diego	2.67*	+ 4
4	2.5**	NA
North Carolina Arts Council	2.4*	+ 29
Minnesota State Arts Board	2.3*	- 21.4
City of Dallas	2.3*	+ 18
City of Los Angeles	2.2*	+ 14
The Foundation on Culture and the Arts, Hawaii	2.09*	+ 6.1
Shell Companies Foundations, Inc.	2.07	+ 64
City of Denver	2***	NA
Louisiana State Arts Council	2**	+ 9
J. Reynolds Industries	2**	+ 35
Body Foundation	2**	- 55
San Diego County	2***	NA
United Technologies Corp.	2**	0
West Virginia Arts and Humanities Division	2**	+ 22.7

Year 1982

ated

ated for fiscal year 1982

es educational and other types of non-cultural support.

des funds for the Bell Symphony Orchestra on tour.

orized expenditures have been cut back since appropriation to \$5.56 million.

orized expenditures have been cut back since appropriation to \$5.3 million.

des capital expenditures for the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

nt does not include a \$3 million grant for the planning and construction of a music center in Orange County, Calif.

not include advertising funds for *National Geographic* PBS programs, nor \$500,000 for the Aspen Institute.

reatest care was taken to insure accuracy. But many organizations, particularly local governments, do not list cultural as a separate budget item, and officials had to make selections of appropriate funds for this study. In their tabulations, inconsistencies may have occurred. All organizations were asked to omit funds for education, zoos, botanical gardens, historical societies, etc., and for capital expenditures. But most foundations were unable to separate arts assistance from cultural support, such as humanities grants. Therefore, some totals may reflect both categories.

t for all types of museums is included, as are grants to public broadcasting and funds to defray energy costs at arts institutions. Administrative costs are included only for government agencies.

ation about state arts agencies was compiled by the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies; figures are funds appropriated by state legislatures. Information about cities and municipalities was based in part on a recent study conducted by the Cwi for the Municipal Arts Federation. All city and municipal amounts are based on funds raised from local tax levies, excluding bond issues. Federal and state assistance is not included. Information about foundations was based on information from the Foundation Center's Grants Index Data Base and the Foundation Directory Data Base. Information about corporate support was based in part on information compiled by the American Council for the Arts, the Committee for the Arts, Inc. and the Conference Board. Information about foundations, corporations and government agencies was, whenever possible, based on data they supplied themselves.

eph N. Pew, a founder of the Sun Oil Company—J. Howard Pew, Mary Ethel Pew, Joseph N. Pew Jr. and Mabel Ethel Myrin. Like many other foundations and corporations, the Pew Charitable Trusts gives the bulk of its arts money to local organizations.

Some foundations were omitted intentionally. For instance, the Fan Fox and Leslie R. Robert Samuels Foundation of New York City gave \$8 million to Lincoln Center last year for the renovation of the New York State and Vivian Beaumont theaters.

But that donation was for capital improvement, not for ongoing arts support. Similarly, the J. Paul Getty Trust spent \$5 million on the arts in 1981 (and will be spending between \$55 and \$60 million annually by 1983). But nearly all of last year's money was used for the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, and our list includes only supporters donating funds in significant amounts to non-affiliated organizations.

About four of every five listed supporters gave more to cultural activities in 1981 than in the year before. Some experts believe that such increased giving will not be affected by the federal cuts. "I don't think that the budget cuts, of themselves, are going to result in major damage to arts institutions," says Frank Hodson, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts. But he recognizes that the cuts represent "psychological damage in the sense that we are saying, look, we can't afford as much of the arts anymore, and that is a depressing fact."

Others think the damage will be more than psychological. Says Bernard Blas Lopez, director of the New Mexico state arts council and a member of the National Council on the Arts (the NEA's advisory body), "It is distressing to view the effect that the administration's highly publicized attempt to reduce the NEA's funding by 50 percent last year has had on state legislatures. In state after state, it is reversing attitudes that had been slowly improving with respect to state support of the arts." In the state of Washington, in fact, the legislature recently voted to reduce arts appropriations by 50 percent. And even in oil-rich Alaska, federal policies have encouraged legislators trying to repeal a state program that placed art in public buildings.

Although federal support for most cultural organizations is only about 5 percent of their budgets, it is a significant imprimatur. Once an organization receives a grant from the arts or humanities endowment, it is easier to raise money from corporations and foundations. Members of the business community believe that if the "government doesn't think support is important, they don't think it is either," says Anne Murphy, director of the American Arts Alliance. Adds Frank Saunders, staff vice-president of Philip Morris, Inc., a major donor to the arts, "We value NEA's judgment and, on more than one occasion, we have relied on its involvement in deciding to sponsor one or another particular show."

Jazz pianist Billy Taylor, testifying

before a House subcommittee, pointed out, "The money that comes from government liberates other kinds of money. The government support is just one of the three legs, the private sector obviously is one of the others and the possibility of money that is earned by an organization is the third. Without that government support, the other two just don't exist, and the stool obviously falls."

The stool hasn't fallen yet, but it is unsteady. And even as arts officials face increasing competition from cities, educators and health officials for fewer federal dollars, new tax laws are actually discouraging private donations. Richard Mittenenthal, program officer for the arts at the New York Community Trust, an umbrella organization of some 500 separate charitable trust funds, recently said, "Changes in the marital deduction, estate-tax laws and marginal tax rates will make it more expensive for individuals to make philanthropic donations. If individual giving does not decrease in absolute terms, it does seem reasonable to conclude that it will not increase at the same rate as in previous years." The act also allows foundations to reduce their total spending, repealing an earlier law that required foundations to spend either their total income or 5 percent of their assets, whichever was higher. Now they have to spend only 5 percent of their assets."

And while the greatest increase in arts support in the past decade has come from the corporate sector, it's uncertain how much more business will contribute in the future. Admits Richard Contee, president of the Dayton Hudson Foundation, "The business community is unanimous in saying we can't pick up the slack even if everyone gave to the maximum." Adds Harvey Seifter, development director of the Theater for the New City in New York, "Corporations and foundations have made it clear that they have neither the ability nor the intention of picking up the slack. If the trend continues, in the long run there will be no place for nonprofit theater to survive."

The net effect will be uneven. Says entertainer Theodore Bikel, a former member of the National Council on the Arts: "The Los Angeles Symphony won't go broke. It's the small theaters, the small dance companies that depend on the federal dollar. A lot of those might simply disappear."

Clearly, given the current economic environment, the organizations on this list are crucial in determining what audiences see and hear, what museums exhibit, what appears on public television. "Art will always happen...innovation will not," says June Gutfleisch, executive director of the California Confederation for the Arts. The extent to which art—and innovation—happens in the U.S. during the next decade may well be decided by these leading supporters of cultural activities.

John S. Friedman is a Washington writer who specializes in the politics of the arts. A version of this piece was originally written for the now-defunct Saturday Review magazine.

EDITORIAL



"YOU'RE RIGHT, THE PRESIDENT WAS THE GUY IN THE LIMO WEARING BLINDERS..."

Can left go up as Reagan goes down?

Only two years have passed since Ronald Reagan was elected president and the Republican Party won a majority in the U.S. Senate, but already his brand of conservatism is a failure. Reagan's victory was achieved with the support of the Moral Majority and the corporate community. In his campaign for the nomination and then in the general election he opposed the Equal Rights Amendment, promised to support an anti-abortion amendment and generally supported the social issues dear to the hearts of the "new conservatives." And he promised to make America prosperous again by unleashing the incentive to make a profit, which he claimed was being stifled by high taxes.

In fact, as Republican pollster Robert Teeter said at the time, the biggest thing Reagan had going for him was that he wasn't Jimmy Carter. But after the election Reagan insisted that he had received a mandate for his policies from the American people, and, for the most part, Republicans and Democrats alike scrambled to support his initiatives.

The rest, of course, is familiar to anyone who reads the papers, but two things of importance do not get much attention in the media. First, the Moral Majority and other conservative social-issue advocates have their best days behind them. Even at the peak of their euphoria, just after the 1980 election, it was clear that a majority of Americans were pro-choice—clear enough so that even Reagan put the social issues on the back burner. With the failure of attempts to pass a constitutional amendment against abortion, and one for prayers in public schools, and with the widespread negative reaction to conservatives in this year's election campaigns, the conservative social-issue advocates have lost their clout. From now

on, they will be able to count on support only from those people in office who actually agree with them—and that is a considerably smaller number than it appeared to be these past two years.

The greatest victory of the Moral Majority and its allies was the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment. But the unsuccessful campaign to win ratification of the ERA has moved the National Organization for Women (NOW) and other pro-feminist groups into the electoral arena with new vigor and determination. And since NOW's views coincide with those of a substantial majority of the American people, their turn toward politics is likely further to weaken the Moral Majority and the Phyllis Schlaflys of this land.

Second, Reagan has done a part of the left's task for it, or, at least, he has prepared the ground by insisting that government cannot solve our social and economic problems, but that unrestrained profit-seeking corporations (or wealthy individuals) can. In opposing what he calls throwing money at problems in attempts to solve them, he has been throwing money at corporations and wealthy individuals and telling us that they will solve our problems as a by-product of making profits for themselves.

In short, he has made an issue of corporate power and the social effect of private profit as the first principle in public life. This is precisely what both the Republican and Democratic parties, acting as the protection agencies of the giant corporations, have succeeded in preventing in this century. And it is what socialists have as their primary task at the present time.

Unfortunately, the repudiation of Reagan and his policies that seems to be shaping up in this year's election does not

take us very far, welcome though it is. For, with an important handful of notable exceptions, the Democrats in Congress are as committed as Reagan to the principle that the business of the American government is the protection of the profitability of American business. This being so, socialists and other leftists must themselves take up the challenge that Reagan has placed before us. We must begin, in the electoral arena, to discuss what the first principle of our government should be, and what that means in terms of public policy on the basic issues now facing us. For if we do not do this, then the swing away from Reagan will simply bring us back to the failed policies of Carter and his predecessors—which is what gave us Reagan.

The political impasse.

As we have noted time and again since our first editorial in Nov. 15, 1976, American politics is at an impasse. As the Republicans and Democrats alternate in office, they become more and more alike. And as they become more and more alike, more and more Americans lose interest in politics and all trust in "politicians." The result is not a politically aware non-voting public, but an increasingly cynical and self-absorbed citizenry and a tendency to resignation or desperate individual acts of defiance.

And, as we have argued time and time again since our first editorial in 1976, the only way out of this impasse is to bring a different set of principles into the mainstream of American politics. We must challenge directly the notion that the prosperity and well-being of the American people depends on the profitability of our giant corporations. Clearly it does not, as the present situation proves. For with unemployment at a 40-year high,

with all public services—health care, education, welfare—in crisis, with production at the lowest levels in many years, most of our giant corporations are making profits and several are throwing billions of dollars around in corporate mergers and other forms of speculation.

The solution is not to take more money from our public services in order to give it to the wealthy in the form of lower taxes, it is to begin increasing public investment in order to increase employment, improve health care, provide genuinely equal educational opportunities for all Americans, insure comfortable, affordable housing for all and to rebuild our infrastructure.

The main immediate obstacle to such a program is the military budget, which is presented to the American people as necessary for our defense, but most of which is simply a subsidy for Corporate America. This has been both the Democrats' and the Republicans' only acceptable form of massive public spending, and it is now Reagan's only available form of "pump priming," as well as his way of intimidating the rest of the world.

But this is a profoundly counterproductive form of spending from the point of view of most Americans, and the end result is to increase the threat of nuclear annihilation, not to increase our security. This is the area in which Democrats are most like Republicans, and it is here that socialists and other leftists have the greatest responsibility to distinguish themselves from other politicians.

The next presidential election is only two years away. We do not see much chance of the left playing a decisive role in it, but we do see the possibility of creating a visible presence in Congress. The time to begin planning for that is now.

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

ON WISCONSIN

THOUGH WE ARE ALL PLEASED THAT the coming freeze votes all over the nation are receiving attention from you (*ITT*, Oct. 20), it would be nice if the article had mentioned the state of Wisconsin. Not only did the state legislature approve the resolution without a negative vote last spring, but it passed in a referendum of the state by a margin of 3-to-1, the first state in the union to vote and pass the measure. The reason the vote was not in the general election in November is that President Reagan called the leading Assembly Republican and asked him to keep the issue from becoming an issue in the fall election.

This failed for Reagan as the movement spread nationwide, and it also failed for him in Wisconsin. The primary that passed the freeze had the highest voter turnout in a primary in Wisconsin history, and nominated the most progressive Democratic candidate ever to run for Wisconsin governor. His victory over a traditional Democrat was close; the votes the freeze turned out (the two campaigns worked closely together) were widely seen to be the margin of victory. The grassroots efforts of the freeze are now branching into electoral politics and the nuclear free zone idea.

—Allen Smith
Madison, Wis.

Editor's note: Our October 20 freeze roundup was of referenda on the November ballot. We reported on the Wisconsin freeze vote in our September 29 issue.

FREE AND FAIR

YOUR STORY ON NAMIBIA (*ITT*, OCT. 6) has some glaring errors and omissions that mislead readers. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution implies that a free press should be a fair press.

Enclosed is a brief brochure on business activities and related matters. We hope you can print another story that gives a more accurate picture of Namibia and its 11 population groups, which speak eight languages and 29 dialects.

Also enclosed are some reprints of statements made by important members of the U.S. Congress alerting Americans to the fact that SWAPO is a Soviet sponsored terrorist group trying to seize control of Namibia by military force as a further step in Soviet empire expansionism in southern Africa.

—Kunima Riruako
Member, Council of Ministers
Government of Namibia/SWA

KUDOS FOR JOHNSTONE

DIANA JOHNSTONE'S REPORTING ON Europe and the Mideast is remarkable.

At a time when ignorance, outrage, loyalty and fanaticism cloud the political perceptions of many of us, her articles keep coming out without bias or sentimentality, one after another. This is good professional journalism and it has to stand out against the backdrop of banality, misinformation, propa-

ganda and outright deceit of a captive world press and corporate media.

I am glad to hear her clear voice rise above the vulgar noise of the manufactured news and that *ITT* publishes her outstanding work.

—Arthur F. Liebrez
Corte Madera, Calif.

INFORMATIVE

HERE IS A MODEST CONTRIBUTION included with my six-month renewal notice. I very much enjoy the constructive form of journalism practiced in your paper. Please do not be intimidated by blackmail and threats of narrow-minded subscribers who would contribute only if they are allowed to dictate the editorials.

Your coverage of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its aftermath has been fair. I have found Diana Johnstone's and Edward Said's articles informative and illuminating.

—Mujib Ahmed
Seattle

WHY SHE RAN

I WANT PERSONALLY TO TAKE PART in the exchange regarding my candidacy (*ITT*, Sept. 22, Oct. 6 and 20). My primary response is that Allan Spear avoided, as the Democratic Party does, dealing with the vital issues facing this country. They are: a (growing) militarized foreign policy and the concentration of political/economic power.

Because, as you imply, Martin Sabo is one of the best the Democratic left can offer, I think he is an appropriate opponent for a Citizens Party candidate. Sabo co-sponsored and supported a bill to increase military spending in 1983—a real increase over inflation. As a peace activist for many years, I have been struggling against the growth of the military. We ask, "What does Sabo want to do with a few more war billions? Beef up Carter's Rapid Deployment Force to hold down uppity peasants in the Third World? Encircle "our" oil fields in the Mideast? And where will those additional billions come from? Food stamps? Social Security payments? Or maybe he doesn't object to a larger deficit.

The other issue—corporate takeover of this country—is getting short shrift from the Democratic Party, including Martin Sabo. The Citizens Party stands for a democratizing of our economy. I won't go into a laundry list of the kinds of legislation that should be introduced into Congress for this purpose. We believe they need to enter public debate. The Democrats don't agree with us on this point.

I was a member of the Democratic Farmer Labor Party all of my life, but never with enthusiasm because I saw it lacked something that was needed to stabilize this country and establish a just foreign policy. The Citizens Party became my party because its philosophy and platform provide the necessary framework, and it is not beholden to special interest groups, including large corporations, for its support.

The Citizens Party was formed because neither major party offers the American voter a real alternative. In contrast, I stand for stopping the flight of "hands on" jobs by changing the laws that permit, even encourage, corporate investment and exploitation in the Third World. Millions of Americans

want to work as producers of consumer goods. They should have an opportunity to vote for representatives who dare to challenge corporations that are shaping our economy for the maximization of profit without regard for the people of this country.

Your reputation as a liberal is affirmed over and over again in Minnesota. Still, nationally, you may not agree with us that the issues of demilitarization and economic democracy must be politically offered to the electorate. I hope you will, nevertheless, agree that a new party, left of the Democratic Party, is a legitimate effort.

When the dust settles, I hope all of us who are deeply concerned about national issues can work together for at least enough progress to head off nuclear confrontation or the demise of our democracy.

—Kathryn Anderson
Candidate, Fifth District
Minneapolis

SLIPPAGE

YOU REPORT (*ITT*, SEPT. 29) THAT the coalition that included the Mexican Communist Party received more than one million votes in the July elections. The correct figure is 821,995, or 3.65 percent of the votes in the presidential race. This is a decline from the 5.1 percent of the vote the Mexican Communist Party received three years ago.

—Philip Russell
Austin, Texas

NOT AMUSED

VIRGINIA HOLBERT (*ITT*, OCT. 13) IS accurate in recognizing that the "menswear" look for women is "borrowed" from the lesbian community. It is both ironic and cruel that the people whose fashions are being appropriated this time are those who have been denigrated precisely for their appearance. The problem even well-meaning liberals have had with lesbians is that "they look like men." Now, without any change in consciousness (or treatment of lesbians), designers (men) are dressing consumers (women) in suits and tuxedos.

Lesbians have worn pieces of "menswear" for several reasons. Ties, vests and short hair can be a means of confronting artificial gender distinctions, a playing with roles. Traditionally, men's clothes have afforded women more room to move, dance, run and breathe than women's fashions. Finally, the unique styles have offered lesbians a means to recognize each other

in closeted times and places. Short hair, "menswear," flat shoes have been nonverbal cues necessary to a subculture existing in the shadow of the Family Protection Act and the New Right.

This fall's fashions are experienced by me as a rip-off, a straight decoy, not as either a show of support for non-traditional approaches to femininity, nor as a confrontation of the inhibiting fashions offered women. The designer version is simply more expensive. We are not amused.

—Emily Green
New York

REALITY

WHEN A READER (*ITT*, OCT. 20) ASKS for re-examination of Zionism and defines Israel as "an exclusive Jewish State...maintained on Palestinian Arab Homeland," the issue is joined without the usual lip service to Israel's right to exist.

Such a stance seeks nothing but the abrogation of the 1947 UN accord partitioning Palestine with adherence of the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

It is imperative to recall that the proposal for a binational state in which Jews and Palestinians would share equal rights was rejected emphatically by Zionists and Palestinians alike.

Despite sporadic wars and terrorist attacks from both sides and long before Sabra and Shatila, many of us have worked for rapprochement and some kind of mutual agreement recognizing the legitimate national rights of the Israeli government and the Palestinian people.

That still is the only realistic approach while dismemberment of the so-called exclusive Jewish state would violate international agreement, provoke bloodshed and would be doomed to failure.

—Irving Gold
Jupiter, Fla.

Notice to our subscribers: Summer is over

This means that we can no longer accept summer gift subscriptions (two for the price of one).

But *In These Times* is like Chicago. Chicago has two seasons, winter and August. *In These Times* has Summer and Holidays. So, dear friends and supporters, stop sending summer gift subs and start sending Holiday gift subs.

Subscribe to *IN THESE TIMES*

- ☐ YES, I want to try *IN THESE TIMES*, the alternative newsweekly! I don't even have to enclose payment now—you'll bill me later. **MY GUARANTEE:** if at any time I decide to cancel, you will refund my money on all unmailed copies, with no questions asked.
- ☐ Send me 6 months for only \$12.95.
- ☐ Send me one year for only \$23.50.

- ☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.
- ☐ Charge my: ☐ VISA ☐ Master Charge

Acct. No. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

IN THESE TIMES
1509 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60622



"Most of the news I need most, *The New York Times* doesn't see fit to print. More and more, I find it in *In These Times*."

Daniel Ellsberg

PERSPECTIVES

Reagan's plan: a step forward

By Irving Weinstein

THE POLICY OF THE U.S. toward the Mideast as enunciated by President Reagan on September 1 has the capacity for restarting the negotiations between Arabs and Jews on a territorial compromise in Palestine. How should democratic socialists relate to these proposals?

Generally we have insisted on the equal validity of Arab and Jewish rights in Palestine.

However, for most of the period since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, insistence on the equal validity of the rights of both peoples and encouragement of accommodationist forces has meant emphasizing support for Israel. This was justified because of Arab efforts to wipe Israel off the map, while the government of Israel under the leadership of the Labor Party stood for territorial compromise, "trading land for peace." Strengthening this emphasis was the recognition of a basic asymmetry between Israel and the Arab countries: A military defeat of Israel involved at the least "politicide" (the destruction of a state) and most likely large scale physical extermination. In line with this, we supported U.S. economic and military assistance to Israel in sufficient quantity for Israel to defend itself. It is important to remind ourselves that we saw the outcome of our support of Israel as laying the basis for territorial compromise. We hoped that successful resistance by Israel combined with the Labor government's policy of "trading land for peace" would convince the Arabs to agree to a negotiated compromise as the foundation for permanent coexistence.

When Sadat journeyed to Jerusalem this "strategy" appeared vindicated. Today it is evident that the sheer drama of Sadat's journey obscured a more complicated reality. Developments have forced us to become painfully aware that the economic and military assistance we supported as necessary to Israel's survival—and it was necessary—has simultaneously become the means through which the present government of Israel seeks to implement plans for destroying Palestinian nationalism and preparing the ground for the incorporation of the territories into Israel.

Taking this into account, the only appropriate response is support for an American policy that places greater emphasis on the defense of Arab Palestinian rights and clearly differentiates between support for Israel's right to exist in security, which must remain unequivocal, and support that aids and abets Israel's denial of Arab Palestinian rights.

Democratic socialists should acknowledge that the position enunciated by President Reagan on September 1, 1982 goes far toward making this differentiation.

- The proposals directly confront the annexationist program of the Begin government.

- They call for an end to Israeli occupation of the territories.

- They close the "trap," inherent in the Camp David accords, on the Begin government. The accords were going to prove a trap for one or the other: Either for Begin by the system of transitional stages creating their own irresistible momentum, or for the Palestinians ending up through "autonomy" as second-class citizens, while the process of "creeping" annexation proceeded apace.

At the same time this needed and extremely timely affirmation of U.S. sup-

port for the national rights of the Palestinians is intended to encourage accommodationist forces on both sides as the real key to settling the conflict and preserving the rights of both peoples.

The degree to which mutual distrust shapes the relationship between the two peoples and directly affects the nature of possible negotiations and a possible settlement cannot be too strongly emphasized. Confronting that distrust, taking it into account, and weaving it into the terms of settlement and its implementation is pivotal to the success of any proposed solution.

The new American policy obviously recognizes that it is the only formulation of Palestinian independence that at the same time meets the absolute minimum terms necessary to bring the Arabs to the bargaining table, and is the only formulation that can revitalize public support in Israel for the former accommodationist policy of "trading land for peace." If this is an accurate assessment, the formulation is of pre-eminent practical importance, and must be weighed against the restrictive nature of the political independence promised the Palestinians.

The Reagan proposal excludes PLO participation in the negotiations just as it requires that they be conducted through the format of Camp David. But can the rights of the Palestinians be secured

strated that a viable and permanently peaceful relationship with Israel could exist. The implication was clear: were the "experiment" to succeed the outcome would be an independent Arab Palestinian state on the West Bank.

Camp David, the outcome of protracted struggle, already exists. It is codified in language. It is the one format of negotiations on the Palestine issue that the present government of Israel cannot get out of without signaling that the struggle is moving off the bargaining table and the conference room into more

The new U.S. policy is the first to set forth terms that both Israel and the PLO can find minimally acceptable.



Reagan excludes the PLO from his formula, but no plan to solve the Mideast crisis can succeed without PLO support.

through Camp David—or any process that holds the PLO at arm's length and is held at arm's length by the PLO?

From the American point of view the autonomy projected at Camp David was intended to create a structure of Arab self-government, developing through transitional stages, to give West Bank Palestinians and Israel a chance to resolve their conflict. The strategy held in abeyance the question of ultimate sovereignty while the Palestinians demon-

strated that a viable and permanently peaceful relationship with Israel could exist.

From the above, we conclude that Camp David is definitely worth saving. This relates directly to the question of the PLO, and its role in the negotiations.

If it is true that Camp David excludes the PLO—it is also true that the PLO exclude Camp David. For in the present stage of PLO development, Camp David strikes at the political and organizational *raison d'être* of the PLO. Where Camp David (in the American and Egyptian

view) seeks to start a momentum toward winding up the conflict, and to recruit a Palestinian leadership ready to participate in the process (which means if necessary to create an alternative leadership to the PLO)—the PLO seeks to prevent any finalization of the conflict, and to maintain and preserve its vanguard role. And just as the political and organizational aims of Camp David appear to be inseparable, so are those of the PLO. This accounts for the insistence in basic PLO planks that the PLO is the "sole" representative of the Palestinian people. This insistence has everything to do with the PLO program—whose ultimate goal is the retaking of Palestine.

The complexity of the PLO strategy stems from its need to cope with the reality that its ultimate goal cannot be achieved in this period by force. This means that the struggle must primarily be an effort to mobilize world opinion against Israel, where Israel is compelled to negotiate under the least favorable conditions, that is within a framework of "ambiguous recognition and indirect negotiations." This makes it possible for the PLO not to give up its ultimate goal, and to hope for a settlement "imposed" on Israel, which would come closest to meeting these requirements. (Internally the PLO prepared its cadre to wage this political struggle through the adoption of policies in the mid-70s whereby the PLO would accept the establishment of a Palestinian "authority" in any part of "liberated" Palestine, so long as this did not foreclose the struggle to "liberate" all of Palestine.)

But to be effective this struggle must take into account that the Western powers are confirmed accommodationists. So that any political struggle by the PLO must move in an orbit that appears to hold out the promise of accommodation.

The strategy is not without pitfalls. More precisely, the involvement of the PLO in the strategy of making itself a candidate for even its version of accommodationism exacts a price, puts the PLO in a process that it does not completely control. Can the PLO be sure it won't get "mired" in the process? Here the rise of the Sartawi "peace" tendency has great relevance. Dr. Issam Sartawi is the PLO official who declared in Paris on July 13 on behalf of the Palestine National Council the PLO's readiness to recognize Israel on the basis of "reciprocal recognition." His views (expressed at length in an interview made available through the America-Israel Council for Israel-Palestinian Peace) reflect all the contradictions of the PLO's effort to come to grips with the reality of Israel. For while there is nothing in the content or the spirit of his remarks that are not entirely compatible with the basic PLO strategy of "liberation" or indicate in any way a desire for permanent coexistence with Israel, they contain a call for an opening by the PLO toward dialogue with the forces of Peace Now and other Israeli accommodationists.

Were the Sartawi tendency to gain strength, allowing the PLO to broaden its contacts to include the supporters of Peace Now, the ensuing encounters contain the potential for moving the parties toward each other in ways neither suspects.

If this analysis of the PLO is correct then it is fair to say that there is a good chance for the PLO to develop to a position similar to that in which the Begin government finds itself in regard to Camp David: risking a "trap" in the hope of advancing its ultimate aims.

The Reagan proposals position the U.S. precisely at a point of exerting maximum pressure toward these developments. They deserve the full-hearted support of the left generally, and particularly of democratic socialists.

Irving Weinstein is a member of the Democratic Socialists of America.

IN DEPTH

An open letter from Solidarity to the left

In the following article, an editor of the clandestine Warsaw publication *Kos* speaks frankly about the mutual mistrust between the Solidarity movement and the Western left. Dawid Warszawski, a pseudonym, urges both sides to drop their respective preconceptions and to begin an East-West dialogue of cooperation on common interests. If this challenge goes unheeded, Warszawski warns, both sides face catastrophe. Although he addresses the European parliamentary left by name, his arguments bear hearing in the U.S. as well.

KOS is the Polish acronym for "Social Resistance Committees," a network of small, conspiratorially organized cells formed to provide an efficient internal communication system for the resistance movement.

Warszawski's article first appeared in *KOS*'s publication *Kos* ("blackbird" in Polish) earlier this summer. It was reprinted in the Paris-based *Solidarity* weekly *Biuletyn Informacyjny* Sept. 22, 1982 under the title "The left and us."

—Andrzej Tymowski

By Dawid Warszawski

ASKED ABOUT HIS POLITICS, the Soviet dissident and Gulag veteran of many years Vladimir Bukovsky replied: "I am not from the rightist camp nor from the leftist camp. I am from a concentration camp." This statement raised hackles in the West several years ago, but in the East—that is, on this side of the Elbe—it was immediately clear and comprehensible to every politically aware person.

The categories "right" and "left" only make sense as markers in a diversified field of political programs and social visions. When a particular political system prevents the formulation of such programs and visions, the essential political conflict cannot be reduced to the concepts "right" and "left." Instead it becomes a struggle to make a right or left possible.

Solidarity waged this struggle throughout its existence. Just before the imposition of the state of war, this effort catalyzed several diverse political initiatives. Nevertheless, Solidarity as a union remained neither right nor left. For Western observers, especially leftists, this notion is difficult to understand, much less to accept; for it has been the leftist experience that organizations professing such neutrality do so in bad faith in order to mask their true nature, most often right wing. This judgment seemed to be confirmed by Solidarity's battling in the name of, among others, national and religious ideals, against a political system wrapped in the conceptual slogans of socialism. What's more, whenever Solidarity activists could be persuaded to make an explicit statement on the subject they inevitably declared themselves to be anti-Soviet and, often, pro-American.

Nonetheless, Solidarity was undeniably a workers' movement; it went on strike and fought for the economic and political interest of the class that is by definition leftist. More than one political theorist broke teeth while chewing on this nut...

Internationally, Solidarity received wholehearted support from the rather reactionary AFL-CIO—which had uncritically accepted, for instance, U.S. policy in Vietnam—and from such figures as Duarte, the leader of the Salva-

doran junta. On the principle "my enemy's friend is my enemy," this was more than enough to qualify Solidarity as right wing. And yet Solidarity fought for the same rights that the persecuted trade unions in Chile are fighting for. In the global perspective of a world in which reactionary forces clash with progressive forces, Solidarity refused to adopt a clearly defined position.

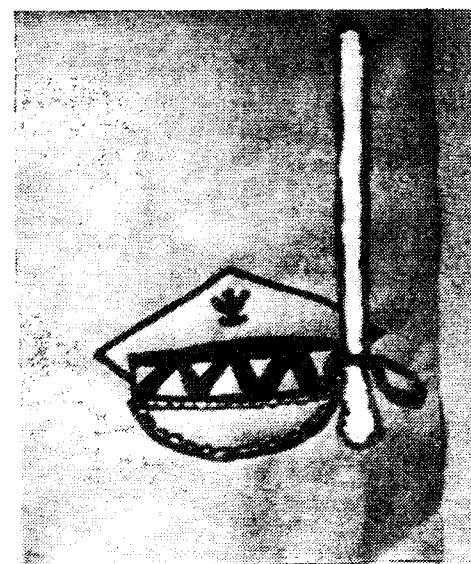
This caused some people to revise the way they made basic political judgments. For the majority, it is sad to say, it was only an irritating nuisance.

Someone reading this in Poland might well ask, "What should we care about any of this? We live in a country of pragmatic Marxists. We have seen Communism up close; other varieties of leftism are hearsay for us. Besides, the intellectual quandaries of safe and well-fed people are the least of our concerns."

Although I understand why someone

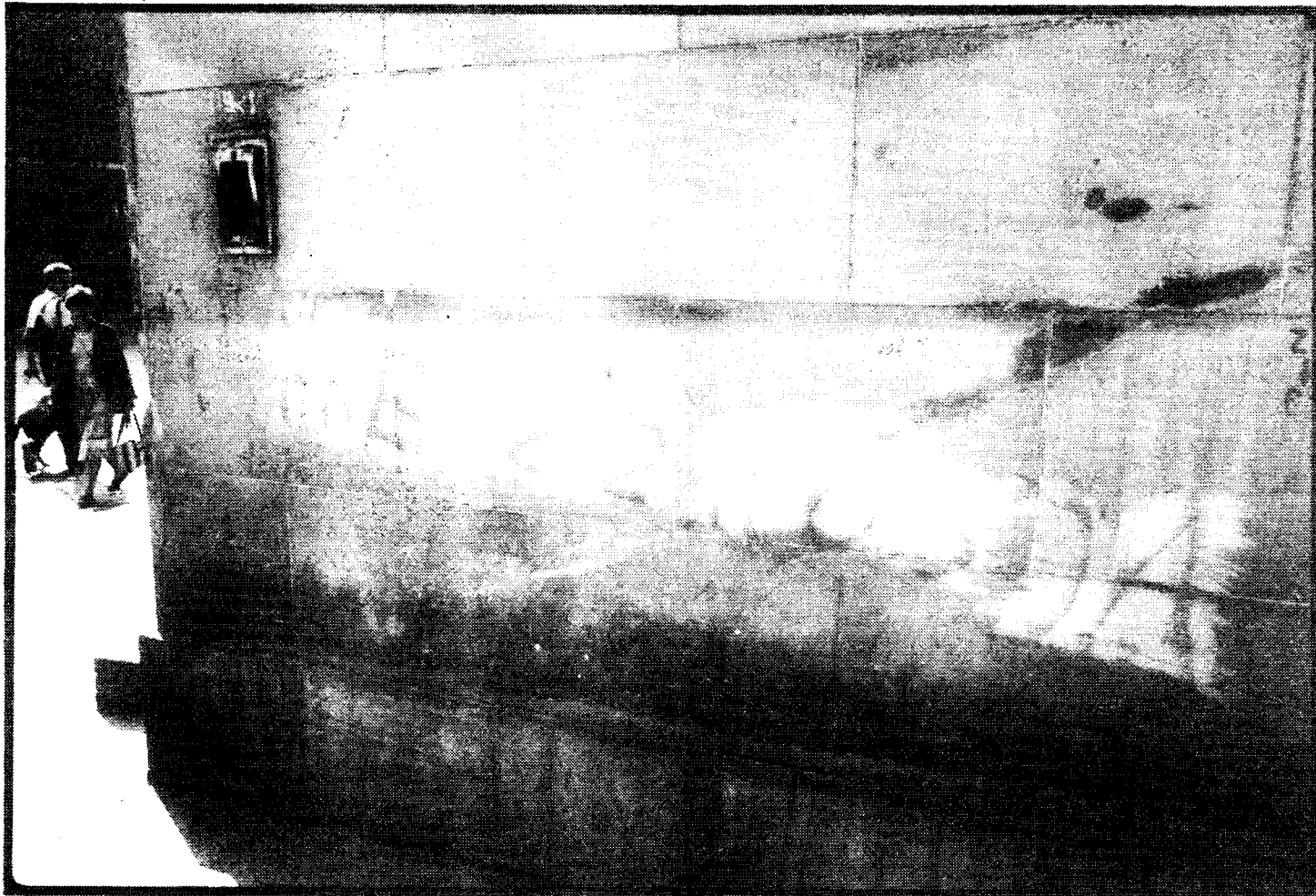
Solidarity and the European left are inextricably woven. An enduring victory for WRON (the Polish acronym for the ruling Military Council of National Salvation) would politically bury the European left for many years, since the first consequence of that victory would be the utter disgrace of Communism as a political doctrine. This could be cause for rejoicing if it were not for the fact that the ensuing political debacle would sweep aside everything to the left of Franz Josef Strauss. The mass transmigration of voters to the right prompted by the maniacal specter of WRON as the highest stage of Communism would plow under its wake socialists, social democrats, Euro-Communists, and whoever else might still be alive on the left.

On the one hand, this scenario would hardly be to Poland's advantage. Only the left can be our true ally, because it is only for the left that Polish society, and the Polish working class in particular, exists as an autonomous subject. The right's true interlocutor is Moscow, not Poland, and we are useful only as a means of making life difficult for the Soviets. As Yalta has shown, a Poland subjugated by Moscow is of little interest to the right. Financial and industrial circles, the right's social base, have already



in the West are not *ipso facto* scoundrels or dupes.

For the left and their friends in the West, this means that they would do well to recognize the "to be or not to be" of the progressive movement taking place right here on the banks of the Vistula. These circles lately seem to have grown weary of Poland, choosing campaigns to aid the victims of the Turkish and Salvadoran juntas—who most certainly need help—as politically more attractive than support for a recalcitrant and ambig-



Hostility to Soviet Communism, illustrated by this painted-over "down with Russia" graffiti, has led some Western leftists to see Solidarity as a right-wing movement.

might hold this attitude, I believe it wrong for at least two reasons. The first reason, though more immediately compelling, is less significant overall. It comes down to the fact that the bulk of aid sent to Poland from the West comes from a wide spectrum of left organizations, chiefly trade unions. There is a disturbing silence in Poland on this subject. The authorities do not publicize it because it is embarrassing ideologically. The rest of us do not ask where the aid comes from either, because the left has distasteful connotations for us and we do not want to feel indebted to it.

Nonetheless, it is crucial that the left's ideological and dogmatic preoccupations not reduce the flow of aid, which could easily happen if donors conclude from our indifference that Solidarity is not worth the effort. Clearly the same applies to the Committees for Solidarity that have arisen in foreign countries, since their activities depend in large measure on the support of various left organizations.

The second reason is more basic. Few activists on either side of the Iron Curtain realize this yet, but the destinies of

begun to support Jaruzelski on their own initiative, hoping that he will be able to squeeze \$28 billion out of us.

Solidarity's victory over the regime, on the other hand, would vindicate the power and endurance of the working class. It would revive hopes for international political cooperation of working people in Europe, which is our continent's last chance to re-establish autonomy vis-a-vis the global strategies of the super-powers. In the short run it would breathe some life into the theory and practice of a workers' movement smothered by Moscow's scholasticism, which has lately diverted itself either into a methodology of struggle for pink washrooms in factories or into a hothouse for maniacs.

What does this mean in practice? For us in Poland, sadly, it means very little. It would be good to translate the specific circumstances of life on the Vistula into language that the European left can understand, but that is a task for our activists abroad. We are left with little more than the realization that President Reagan is not necessarily the trustworthy ally he seems to be, and that Communists

uous movement like Solidarity.

We in solidarity need the left's help to ward off the shroud of neglect and indifference that threatens our struggle. Today no one but the left remembers Chile, Eritrea and the Crimean Tatars.

The left, in turn, needs our victory to avoid its own disaster.

A postscript to those in Poland who do not like the left: This article is being written by someone sympathetic to the left who hopes to become a leftist in the future. By this I mean that I want to struggle in a free and democratic society, by using political means, against conceptions of society such as those proclaimed, for instance, by the (ultra-nationalist) Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). However, in order to make this possible, today I plan to cooperate even with the KPN in a common struggle against a totalitarian, alien occupation regime. In today's Poland the notions of right and left are empty; our struggle aims to create the conditions for them one day to have meaning. For all of us in this struggle, the European left is our ally.

—Translated by Andrzej Tymowski

INPRINT

FICTION

Marx, Christ, Cervantes and Greene mingle

Monsignor Quixote
By Graham Greene
Simon and Schuster, 221 pp.,
\$12.95

By Charles Sugnet

The Catholic schools where I did hard time in the late '50s were ill-equipped to handle literary interests. They encouraged science, especially the "purer" sciences like math and physics. Biology was a problem because it involved both sex and Darwin, so my high school had no biology course. Literature and philosophy were even more of a problem; all the issues they raised had been settled definitively by the *Baltimore Catechism*.

Their only weapon against doubting young wise guys with literary inclinations was Graham Greene. "You're excused from the regular assignment," they'd say. "Write a report on *The Power and the Glory*." After writing three or four such reports, I was weary of the book. The seriousness of its moral anguish, the melodramatics of salvation according to Greene, seemed to me as narrow as the school I was trapped in. Even Greene himself got tired of being a "Catholic novelist," and in an introduction to *The Heart of the Matter* said he was "wearied by repeated arguments in Catholic journals on Scobie's salvation or damnation."

Greene turned away from Catholic themes for a long time, but with *Monsignor Quixote* he is back at the old material: a priest who drinks too much, and whose saving graces come from doubt, infirmity and failure. At 79, however, Greene takes a much mellow view of his subject than in *The Power and the Glory*. On the first page of the new novel, when Father Quixote prays that his old car will outlive him, Greene writes: "So many of his prayers had remained unanswered that he had hopes that this one prayer of his had lodged all the time like wax in the Eternal Ear."

This sentence makes it clear that the universe of *Monsignor Quixote* will be one of humor and whimsy, almost of cuteness. Before the book is over, Quixote

will blow into a condom because he thinks it's a balloon, and will attend a porno movie called *A Maiden's Prayer* because he's fooled by the title.

Greene stresses that Father Quixote is descended, not from Cervantes, but from the fictional character Don Quixote, and the novel makes much of the relations between fact and fiction. (Has solid Graham Greene been reading the likes of such non-realist writers as Argentina's Jorge Luis Borges and John Barth, or is it just that Cervantes has got him thinking about these things?) A humble parish priest strangely promoted to Monsignor and evicted from his own parish, Quixote takes the Communist mayor of his town, who has just been voted out of office, as his Sancho.

The two hit the road and have adventures that parallel the adventures of *Don Quixote*, but the book is not strong on plot. There's little sense of narrative drive or suspense about the outcome—mostly, the priest and the Communist just drink and talk. Though the novel is supposed to be set in post-Franco Spain, the two main characters are very old-fashioned: Monsignor Quixote prefers to say Mass in Latin, and Sancho is a party-line type who hates Euro-Communists.

One of the novel's chief virtues is its good-humoredness. Most of their talk is conciliatory, but when they occasionally disagree (about Stalin or Judas or Saint Ignatius), they open another bottle of wine. It's nice to be able to chuckle about minor corruption in both Church and state. But that same good humor can be infuriating when it's applied to the wrong subjects. Franco, the Inquisition and Stalin's camps can't just be waved away. Yet this is what Greene tries to do by reducing them to encounters in a friendly, drunken debate between two old men whose convictions have slackened.

Version of Marx.

The talk between the two men often consists of pointing out similarities between their two institutions: Sancho says there's little difference between the

cross and the hammer and sickle, as both are symbols of protest against injustice; Quixote says every true Marxist is a sort of priest. The similarities of structure between Christianity and Marxism have been pointed out before. The large numbers of clergy in the peace movement, and the rapprochement between the Church and the forces of social justice in Latin America are hopeful signs that religion and left politics do not have to be mutually exclusive.

But Green blurs important distinctions when he equates them so easily. All economics get left out of *Monsignor Quixote's* Marx, leaving only a soggy humanism. Ultimately, the book is about the priest—Sancho the Communist is there only as a sidekick. The priest condescends to Marx by allowing that he was a morally good, though mis-

taken, man and misrepresents him too by saying he was a religious dreamer.

Poverty has ended.

Some of their conversations are boring talk about doubt and belief—doubt being the only true form of belief. The old Graham Greene. But some of it is outrageous. At one point, the priest purports to prove, by pointing out the number of English workers vacationing in Spain, that poverty has ended: "We are all bourgeois today...You have to look for the Third World, Sancho, to find any paupers now." Greene gives Sancho no effective reply to this pernicious nonsense, and therefore seems to endorse it.

Taken as a whole, the argument between Quixote and Sancho is oddly distant and scholastic. Neither of them discusses the specific sufferings of the peasants in the Spanish village where they were in charge of spiritual and material welfare. Neither of them argues with any passion about the specific problems of contemporary politics. The confrontation of East and West is made to sound a bit like the Harvard-Yale rivalry (good chaps on both sides). Current struggles for social justice are ignored as the nostalgic glow of old conflicts animates the two men.

Though it may seem to be set in Spain in the '80s, I suspect that

Greene is back with the same old theme—doubts about Catholicism.



© David Levine 1982. Reprinted with permission of N.Y. Review, Inc.

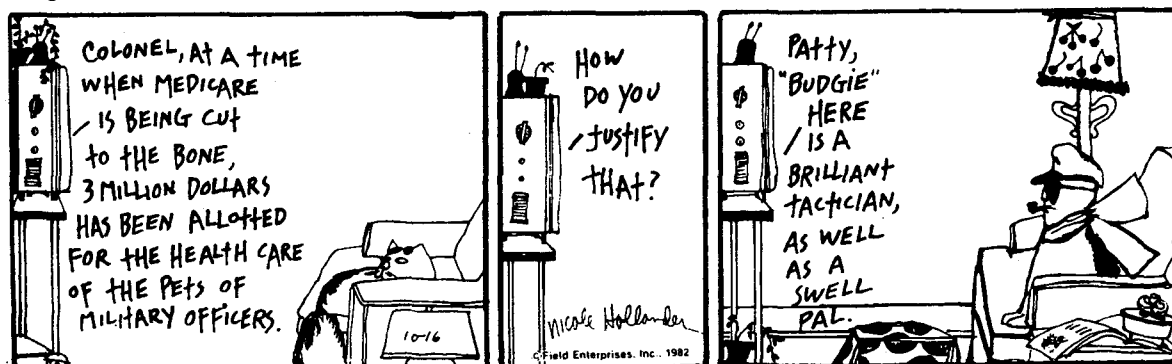
Monsignor Quixote is really set in a never-never land that has been around since Goldsmith wrote the *Vicar of Wakefield* and Balzac *The Lily of the Valley*. The good, simple, country priest is not a human person of any particular era, but a stock character who lives unchanged outside of history along with the virtuous farmer and the evil landlord. Greene has brought this group up to date by the addition of a garage mechanic and a Communist mayor, but he hasn't set it in history. It can be argued that this is appropriate in a book that presents itself as a picaresque fable derived from *Don Quixote*, but a book that claims to deal with Marxism weakens itself by refusing admission to history. The result is the sort of abstract, scholastic definition of virtue that made Catholic theology classes so sterile when I was in school.

Toward the end of the book, Father Quixote tells the story of a woman who was raped by a Moor. Although she was armed, she did not resist because she did not want to kill the Moor in a state of mortal sin, thus sending his soul to hell. Father Quixote thinks this is a beautiful story. Maybe when I'm 79, I will think so too, but I'm a long way from it now.

Charles Sugnet teaches English at the University of Minnesota.

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



THE NOBEL PRIZE

Colombia's chronicler of resistance

By Jean Franco

The pundits consulted by the *New York Times* to comment on the news that Colombian writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez won the Nobel Prize for literature did so with staggering condescension. I.B. Singer coolly labeled him good but not great, certainly not Tolstol or Dostoevsky or Flaubert. Indeed, he declared, "If they were alive today Marquez would be a poor choice." Irving Howe, while acknowledging him to be a strong choice, found his greatest weakness to be "his Latin rhetoric, but you have to accept that as part of the deal."

Citing anonymous sources the *Times* noted that the laureate had been "chided for ideological posturing" and claimed that *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, published in 1967, was "cherished by American university students as a badge of political and intellectual commitment" (translation: his politics are naive). The *Times* culminated its snide celebration with a gratuitous reference to the fact that when Garcia Marquez was forced to flee from Colombia in 1981 under threat of arrest, the government charged him with staging his own escape in order to publicize his latest novel.

Gabriel Garcia Marquez is the world's best-selling author in the Spanish language, and his novel *One Hundred Years of Solitude* has sold 10 million copies in 32 languages. Such a reception from the *New York Times* is merely another episode in the long history of ethnocentrism that for centuries relegated Latin America to a comic opera role in world affairs. If Latin American culture was taken into account at all, it was as a dwarfed and anachronistic version of European culture. Perhaps the *Times'* emphasis on Garcia Marquez's left politics however reflects the justifiable suspicion that he is not likely to be as comfortable a choice for laureate as was 1980 prize-winner, exiled Polish writer Czeslaw Milosz, who recently claimed to have discovered his true home in the rootlessness of California.

Garcia Marquez is, indeed, a deeply committed political writer, one who will not graze harmlessly in the groves of academe. Born in 1928, one of 16 children of a telegraph operator, he was brought up in the Caribbean town of Aracataca. He studied law in Bogota and worked as a journalist in Cartagena and Baranquilla before devoting himself to writing. Despite his success as a novelist, he has continued to practice journalism: he founded *Alternativa*, an important Colombian opposition journal and after the Cuban revolution he was one of the founders of the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina. He has also written several film scripts.

Banana Imperialism.

Aracataca, where he grew up, is a torrid dusty place, which in the early years of the century went through the boom and bust economy of the banana plantations. The invasion of this sleepy, anachronistic region by

the United Fruit Company was evoked vividly in *One Hundred Years of Solitude*: "The section was surrounded by a metal fence topped with a band of electrified chicken wire which during the cool summer mornings would be black with roasted swallows. No one knew yet what the plantation owners were after or whether they were actually nothing but philanthropists, and they had already caused a colossal disturbance, much more than that of the old gypsies, but less transitory and understandable. Endowed with means that had been reserved for divine providence in former times, they changed the pattern of the rains, accelerated the cycle of harvests, and moved the river from where it had always been and put it with its white stones and icy currents on the other side of the

Another and even more tragic and violent era in Colombian history began in 1947 when Garcia Marquez was still a law student in Bogota. In that year the liberal politician, Jorge Eliecer Gaitan was assassinated, which sparked a civil war that took 200,000 to 300,000 lives over a period of 10 years and left a considerable area of the country destroyed.

Epic stories.

If these events that marked Garcia Marquez's life tell us anything, it is that in Latin America people have good reason for associating capitalism with brutal disorganization and repression rather than with the free market and democracy. That is why both in his journalism and in his fiction, he has consistently confronted the atrocities inflicted on

can epic writing absorb the course of events on the one hand and, with the passing of these make its peace with the power of death on the other."

In countries where so much is deliberately forgotten, it is the storyteller who keeps the events

He was fortunate to have been born in a country with a rich oral tradition.

eccentric, as well as impeding the normalization that capitalism demands.

This does not mean that Garcia Marquez hankers after an innocent Golden Age. Rather each of his novels chronicles the process of resistance. In the early novels, (*Leafstorm*, *In Evil Hour*, *No One Writes to the Colonel*), the aura of *violencia* lurks beneath the surface—lonely and embattled individuals for whom the times are out of joint stand against the chorus of history. But in *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, which he began to write in 1965 after years of silence, embattled individuals have become a community—the village of Macondo. The canvas is larger and encompasses the foundation, the myths, the development and decline of this mythic universe whose very ori-



One of 16 children of a telegraph operator, Garcia Marquez has become the world's best-selling author in the Spanish language.

Garcia Marquez is a deeply committed political writer who will not graze harmlessly in the groves of academe.

town, behind the cemetery."

The forcible and selective modernization of the imaginary town of Macondo parallels Latin America's incorporation into a capitalist economy, a process that left many such ghost towns in its wake—in the Amazonian jungle, the abandoned mining region of Baja California and in the interior of Brazil. Aracataca itself was the site of a particularly bloody strike in 1928, when an estimated 800 banana plantation workers were mowed down by the army, an episode that would later find its way into *One Hundred Years of Solitude*.

Third World countries in the name of development.

Garcia Marquez was fortunate, however, to have been born in a country that was exceptionally rich in oral traditions. He learned the art of storytelling from people who, like the inhabitants of Macondo—the mythical and timeless setting of *One Hundred Years of Solitude*—lived without "machines of illusion." Oral tradition depends on memory and according to German critic Walter Benjamin, memory "is the epic faculty, *par excellence*. Only by virtue of a comprehensive memory

alive, and to do so he must make them larger than life like Big Mama, the monstrous virgin matriarch whose death and burial Garcia Marquez describes in one of his stories. At the end of this epic event, he calls on a storyteller "to place his stool in front of the door and tell his story as a lesson and warning to future generations so that the unbelievers of this world will not remain in ignorance of Big Mama, because tomorrow, Wednesday, the street sweepers will come and will sweep away the garbage from the funeral for ever and ever amen." The street sweepers are something like official historians who clear away the carnivalesque debris left over from the biggest funeral in the world in order to make it a clean, orderly place.

The storyteller, on the other hand, has a different responsibility, that of preserving the grotesque, the bizarre and the

gins in incest defy the taboo of Western society.

The literary counterpart of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* is *Don Quixote*. Both novels pit the imagination against the discourses of power. Lacking real power to affect history, however, Macondo can only occupy the solitude of literature.

In his most recent novel, *The Autumn of the Patriarch*, Garcia Marquez deals with the life and death of a tyrant. With his death, the losers for once become victors and are able to celebrate "the good news that the untellable time of eternity has at last come to an end." This celebration may seem Utopian in the context of present day Latin America whose tyrants are alive and well. But it is also refreshing to encounter such genial hope in these most desperate of times. ■ *Jean Franco teaches Spanish and Portuguese at Columbia University.*

ART >> ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC

On Springsteen's back roads

By David Corn

Some years ago, a friend handed me a copy of a bootleg Bruce Springsteen album that featured out-takes from a recording session in 1974. He had paid \$15 for a poorly recorded album filled mostly with uninspiring arrangements of familiar songs.

But it was worth the price for a single cut—an acoustic version of "Thunder Road," he said. That was how Woody Guthrie would sing it.

The Guthrie comparison might have been exaggerated, but he was right about the value of the song. Through the pops, clicks and scratches, accompanied only by gentle strumming on an acoustic guitar, Springsteen sang "Thunder Road" as a ballad—slowly, soulfully, with dignity and hon-

Springsteen has stripped his music bare on NEBRASKA.

esty. His voice, full of emotion, was haunting. Despite the power and enthusiasm of the *Born To Run* version, this was the way the song was meant to be sung. This was Springsteen as a balladeer—rarely seen until the recent release of his album *Nebraska* (Columbia).

Nebraska is the bootleg many Springsteen fans have dreamed of, but it is a bona fide commercial release despite a few rough spots and slow moments. Recorded at his New Jersey home on a four-track cassette recorder, the *Nebraska* songs are Springsteen's "basement tapes"—a collection of dark and moody ballads. With an intimate and homey bootleg feel, the album lives up to the promise of the acoustic "Thunder Road." It is Springsteen with the music stripped bare: an occasional harmonica riff or a distant organ in the far background, but primarily a voice and a guitar.

While Springsteen takes a no-frills musical approach, his new

compositions are rich in detail and emotion. *Nebraska* is a cinematic album. Springsteen either tells a story, draws a scene to suggest a larger plot, or presents specific, vivid imagery to precisely convey emotion. The characters he creates are driven to desperation. And most often their source of frustration is the failing economy.

But *Nebraska* does not mark a new direction for Springsteen. Rather it is just another step down the path he has been on for the last 10 years. Springsteen has always sung about the disenfranchised and the unrecognized. But on *Nebraska*, the link between the economy and one's own dignity is more forthright than on past albums. It is the immediacy of the music that, in part, emphasizes the vulnerability of the characters.

In two songs, the line "I get debts no honest man can pay" helps explain the desperate actions of men who have been put out of work. In "Atlantic City,"

against the backdrop of the re-born resort town, the unemployed protagonist decides to "do a little favor" for a guy he met last night. The criminal implications are clear. In "Johnny 99," the "hero" loses his job when an auto plant closes. When he can't find another one he gets drunk, shoots a night clerk and ends up sentenced to 99 years. Rather than spend the rest of his life in a cell, Johnny 99 begs the judge to "let 'em shave off my hair and put me on that execution line."

In "Used Cars," a son is embarrassed by the fact that his father can't afford anything

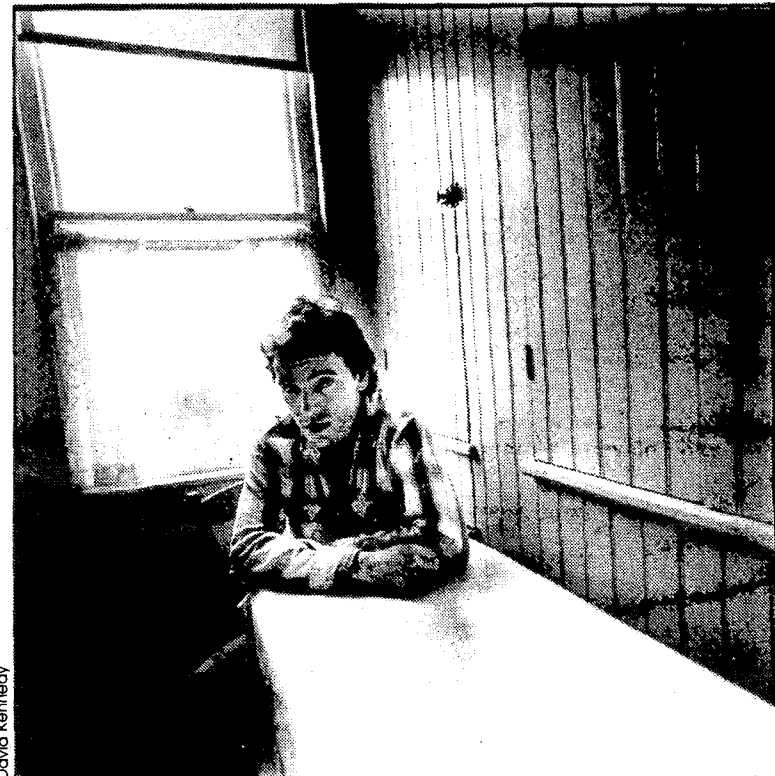
an who answers the door is a stranger. She tells him his father doesn't live there anymore.

Another sharp memory is the "mansion on the hill" (in the song of the same name) that rises above the factories and the fields. At night, Springsteen sings, he and his father park on a back road and just look up at the mansion on the hill, a reminder of all they don't have. Neither one speaks to the other.

The title cut is based on the story of Charles Starkweather (as was the movie *Badlands*). Along with his girlfriend, Starkweather went on a killing spree throughout the Midwest. Here the story is dispassionately told from Starkweather's point of view. Asked to explain his bloody campaign that left 10 people dead, he answers: "Well sir I guess there's just a meanness in this world."

Sometimes that might be all the explanation there is, but not always. It took the loss of a job to turn Johnny 99 into a murderer. Whether it's bad blood or a run-down economy that's at fault, Springsteen feels for those caught in the trap.

Springsteen is moving closer to taking an overtly political



David Kennedy

better than a "brand new used car." He hates the way the neighbors gawk at his family's new possession, even if it is out of envy. Like Johnny 99 and the soon-to-be small-time hood in Atlantic City, the son is stripped of his pride and dignity.

In Springsteen's songs, it is clear that a failing economy robs many of us of more than our savings. "Highway Patrol," a strong and sad track, throws in a neat twist. A farmer is forced to become a policeman when wheat prices drop. But he finds himself squared off against his brother, a no-good roughneck with a penchant for making trouble.

Much of Springsteen's appeal and strength is due to the way he draws on his working-class roots in New Jersey. But no longer is it a fairy tale land of wild-eyed kids and their cars. It is a hard place. "New Jersey in the mornin' like a lunar landscape," he sings on "Open All Night," which moves to a Chuck Berry beat as the one jubilant song on the entire record.

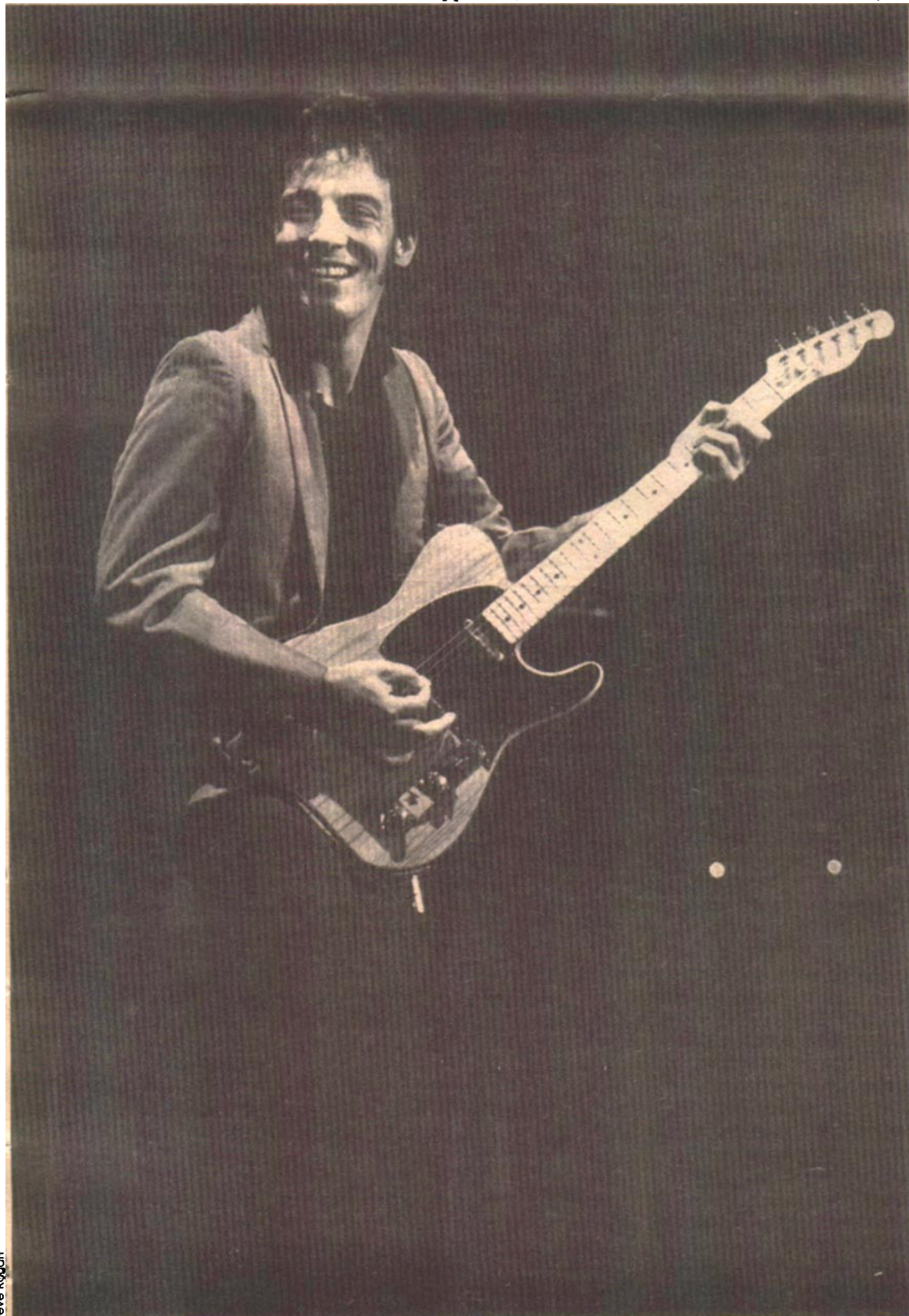
But it not only looks hard; it feels hard. It drives people apart. On "My Father's House," Springsteen dreams he is a child running through a forest toward his father's house. When he arrives and falls shaking into his father's arms, he wakes and imagines "the hard things that pulled us apart." He dresses and rides to the house, but the wom-

stand. On the last date of his 1981 tour, Springsteen performed before a capacity crowd at the Los Angeles Sports Arena on a hot August night. He played two Woody Guthrie songs—"Deportee" and "This Land Is Your Land." Both were sung slowly, with great emotion. At one point, he told the crowd that he was currently reading a biography of Guthrie, "one of the greatest American songwriters of all time." He also urged the predominantly teenage crowd to study American history. "My father worked in a factory," he said. "And his father worked in a factory. There are reasons why this happens. If you go back and read history, you'll see."

Marx, it ain't. But any rock star who tries to get a high school sophomore to think a new thought deserves a lot of credit, especially when he invokes the memory of Guthrie.

While no one should expect that Springsteen's next move will be to hitchhike through Dust Bowl country with guitar on back to organize, *Nebraska* does mark a turn to folk roots—in music and spirit. Even though Springsteen's career is at the stage when anything bearing his name will sell, *Nebraska* is still a gutsy move.

David Corn is assistant editor of *Nuclear Watch* magazine and has written on popular music for other publications.



Steve Kogan

»SPORTSCENE«

FOOTBALL



Tom Greenlee

How you pay the game

By Chris Allen

His arrival on the troubled bargaining scene sent a wave of hope rippling through the pro football-deprived masses. But when 73-year-old mediator Sam Kagel suspended talks October 23, his exorcist-like mission seemed a bust. After 12 days of supervised negotiations, National Football League (NFL) owners and players remained haunted by devilish issues—the nastiest one being how, not how much, to pay the players.

With respect to that dispute, efforts to reach a collective agreement were no further along than they were last February, when negotiations formally opened. The players still insist on a central wage fund under their control. The owners want to continue paying players as they always have, through individual deals unhindered by a loose general contract.

At the time of this writing, five weeks of scheduled games had been missed. As each side paused to reflect on its position, more seemed likely to be lost. Whether these games will be wiped out permanently or rescheduled by extending the season is another item on the bargaining roster. While many non-economic issues have been tentatively settled, the two sides still have much left to discuss, which adds to growing speculation that the entire season may be in jeopardy.

Kagel's temporary—and perhaps strategic—absence from the bargaining table in Hunt Valley, Md., may serve as a productive time-out. The bargaining intermission gives each side time to huddle and map out a new fall-back position. When the talks broke down, everyone—Kagel apparently included—had tired of hearing charges that the "other guy" refused to bargain. There may be some merit in the players' claim, according to the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, William A. Lubbers. He recently announced he would file a complaint charging the league with unfair labor practices. But this development is strictly a side-lines event to the nitty-gritty of the actual talks.

What's really going on now, with talks idled, is a quiet test of union strength. The armor of the NFL Players Association has revealed cracks, with several players publicly saying they are ready to give up the wage fund demand, take the money and return to the field. As players from each team met October 24 in Washington, D.C., to talk about the strike, members of the NFL Executive Committee planned an October 25 session in New York.

Naturally owners are looking for signs of disunity among players, whose union—an odd mix of superstars and lesser lights who average \$85,000 a year—enjoys less than a rough-tough reputation. But no rifts emerged in Washington. Instead, the players' five-hour session closed on a note of solidarity.

The bargaining time-out gives each side time to huddle and map out a new fall-back position.

More posturing? Perhaps, but how long will owners wait to find out? Earlier, they encouraged player panic by withdrawing an offer of \$1.6 billion in salaries over five years, saying strike-created losses forced the move. The players are demanding \$2 billion over four years, though no longer tying it to a percentage of gross revenues. While prodding nervous players to abandon hope of a wage

scale, owners must be getting jittery, too, as millions of revenue dollars evaporate with each football-less Sunday.

The battle between owner patience and union guts is blurred, however, because it's not clear just how much in megabucks the strike is costing the owners. With the possibility of squeezing in extra TV commercials if the football season resumes, it's hard to tell how much network-dependent owners will really suffer.

Many fans and obviously some players may not think of the player-owner clash as a classic test of unionism. But with negotiations deadlocked at the conceptual level—wage fund vs. individual contracts—it sure looks like one.

Still, the complexity of the issues should not be forgotten. Generalities contribute nothing at the bargaining table, where the difficult give-and-take is made all the more intense by the all-or-nothing attitude of both sides. Some labor experts suggest the struggle represents a new type of confrontation because it involves modern technology—future profits from cable TV—and workers trying to have a larger say in how the technology will affect them.

In another respect, the battle-

ground is familiar. The 1,500 players don't have to fear being replaced by machines who perform more efficiently than they do, but they do worry constantly about keeping their jobs. Buried in strike rhetoric is a basic demand for job security. This, in the form of a wage scale, as NFLPA Executive Director Ed Garvey hinted recently, may be the union's most pressing concern.

more, a clear and fair discussion of the issue is most notably missing from television, which almost single-handedly fostered and shaped the national obsession with football.

In Buffalo, the impasse in the National Football League between players and team owners is not viewed as just another labor-management dispute. As in the case of the air controllers last year, the public is vigorously resisting this label. This is in spite of the standard elements of just that: a walkout, the threat of scabs, complaints of unfair labor practices, lockouts. Why is this so?

It is too simple to answer that they are only rankled by the players' high salaries. There is also some racism. In addition, the recent revelation of widespread drug use hurt the players' images, giving them more human proportions. Yet for many years, fans were aware of individual indiscretions.

Marx wrote of the bourgeoisie stripping "of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe." The players, in demanding more money and withholding their services, have saved the bourgeoisie the trouble. The strike vividly reveals that football is business, not play. An illusion has been shattered.

IN THESE TIMES NOVEMBER 3-9, 1982 21

"Once they (owners) get off the philosophical hang-up, the scale we have on the table can be negotiated," Garvey said. "The scale isn't exactly what has to be there."

NFLPA President Gene Upshaw said the same thing after players reaffirmed support for the five demands they had adopted earlier: substantial wage increases, a fair share of future NFL revenues, an end to wage inequities, performance incentives and steps to promote longer careers.

"(We want) something that addresses our five points. We think a wage scale does that, but we're open to listen to any other solution. We just don't see any other way."

Jack Donlan, chief negotiator for the NFL Management Council, doesn't either. After talks broke off, he said there was no point in resuming them until the union dumped its wage-scale proposal.

As dismal as the situation may seem to outsiders, the fact that the two sides are talking to themselves instead of each other may represent a giant step forward. Before the talks were suspended, labor law expert Jack Getman of Yale was quoted as saying:

"The players are scared, the owners are scared, the fans are mad. There may be a push now to try out new ideas. That often happens just when things look bleakest. What you have to look for is a meeting between the union and its members or between Donlan and the owners. That's the sign that new ideas are being sold. Right now things look grim, but I wouldn't be that stunned if there were a breakthrough and then round-the-clock negotiations to settle the strike."

If he's right, a compromise may be in the offing and the footballs will soon be flying.

And if he's wrong? Hey! Who do you think will win the Big Ten this year?

Chris Allen covered the Minnesota Vikings for three years.

What's behind all the booing?

Even in these times of supply-side economics, Reaganomics and a pro-business climate, the lack of public support for the football players in their current dispute with the club owners seems extraordinary. Fans booed when players shook hands before games, a deluge of letters against them has been sent to newspapers, school children have come home with sheafs of statistics illustrating that the level of the players' compensation, present and contemplated, is too high.

"Why should they make as much as baseball players?" a 10-year-old asks, after reminding us that the football season is shorter and has fewer games. The willingness of the players to strike in order to improve wages, benefits and other conditions of employment should be understood by anyone even vaguely familiar with trade unionism. Yet instead of understanding, there is confusion; in the place of tolerance there is hostility.

At the heart of the players' demands are the principles that sources of revenue should be shared and that there should be more equity in the wage scale. In response to this, the standard conservative ratiocinations are heard: inequalities motivate individuals and foster competition—the heart of professional sports. In defense of the team owners' out-of-hand rejection of the players' demands, Aristotle's assertion that "some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and for these latter slavery is both expedient and right" is paraphrased as "management should manage and players should play."

But it may not be surprising that this is repeated in a blue-collar community steeped in the tradition of collective bargaining, given the frequency with which such sentiments are heard and seen in the media. A Sunday newspaper headline reads, "Players Better Off In Free Enterprise." Further-

Football players may be unique employees, but to the average fan they just seem overprivileged. They are paid to play, and they want to earn in a five-year period what it takes most employees 20 years to earn. Thus, the desire to redefine the lifespan of a career, while clinging to childhood pursuits, is interpreted as petulant greed. This image of overreaching is reinforced by the fact that most players are perceived as working-class stiff delivered from the steel mills or the unemployment lines only because of extraordinary size, brawn and brutality.

The fans are loyal to players and identify with their interests only as long as players are participating in a team effort. Because one could hardly expect the players to be more loyal than the fans, it is unlikely that they would modify their demands as a result of fan displeasure. The fans could get the strike settled fast, however, if they put enough pressure on the networks. The owners may not wish to accommodate the players or the fans, but on the basis of their past and present behavior—and their concern with profit—they might well listen to the goose that lays the golden eggs.

—Lionel S. Lewis and Lee S. Dryden

Vets

Continued from page 6

built. Benefits regularly expanded to keep them one step ahead of those offered the merely needy.

This entitlement system had its faults and more than its share of inefficiency and waste, but it was enormously popular. No congressional hearings investigated it. No enterprising newspapers exposed it. No crusading politicians denounced it. Unlike other welfare programs, it was practically immune to criticism.

No one was happier with the VA than the veterans. The reason was that, unlike other programs, it was usually generous and respectful. A 1973 study by manpower specialists Sar A. Levitan and Karen A. Cleary, sponsored by the Ford Foundation, praised the VA's philosophy of providing the most benefits "short of waste," rather than the more common policy of giving the poor just enough to scrape by. They also noted veterans were never subject to the same stringent means tests or demeaning bureaucratic scrutiny as families on welfare.

But stagnation and the Vietnam war helped end the VA's long honeymoon with Congress, the public and veterans themselves. While pensions and other less visible VA benefit programs kept inching up, there was a modest effort to contain escalating hospital costs. The result, one Capitol Hill observer said, has been the "drip, drip, drip erosion" of hospital operating budgets.

Low pay levels for VA staff members have kept turnover rates high and morale scraping bottom, especially among lower-level staff. There is a dispute over whether a doctor shortage exists, but there is no doubt too many VA physicians are only part-time employees. There is a mild shortage of nurses, and a more acute scarcity of ward clerks, nursing assistants, orderlies and others.

These shortages have translated into crowded waiting rooms, poor record keeping, frustrated veterans and harried medical staff.

Both the military and its veterans lost stature during the course of the Vietnam war, and that attitude has come to be reflected in the attitude of VA administrators and staff. Veterans have charged over and over that young doctors and students regard them as a new breed of social parasite, and don't shrink from telling them so.

"Those doctors have no compassion," claimed Betty Weisfeld, the wife of a chronically ill World War II veteran (see sidebar on page 7).

Her husband, whose leg had to be amputated after a botched pre-operative procedure at a VA hospital, recalled being turned down on a benefit request by a VA administrator who snapped, "You're not going to get my money."

Two-thirds of VA hospitals draw their medical staff from the students and faculty of affiliated medical schools. In exchange for providing the schools with teaching space, patients, research facilities and even faculty salaries, the VA gets low-cost physicians. Veterans charge this arrangement shortchanges them, because they are often treated as guinea pigs. Many complain of being poked and prodded by rooms full of students, while a few charge that the VA has subjected them to life-threatening experiments. In some cases, VA surgeons have been accused of performing operations because they were needed for teaching purposes, not because the patients needed them.

The VA, along with Congress, has also responded grudgingly to the growing awareness that the Pentagon has long had the same careless attitude as private industry toward the health and safety of its workers. Since the mid-'70s, Vietnam veterans have been pressing the VA to recognize the link between a series of illnesses—from skin rashes to birth defects and cancer—and the chemical defoliants used in Vietnam, known collectively as Agent Orange. During the war, 44 million pounds of Agent Orange were

sprayed indiscriminately over the jungles to strip them of ground cover. They carved out vast artificial deserts and, Vietnamese officials report, have caused widespread miscarriages, birth defects, tumors and other illnesses.

After years of lobbying by Vietnam Veterans, Congress finally passed a law last year giving Agent Orange victims the right to treatment in VA hospitals—no questions asked. But claims for disability benefits based on exposure to the chemical are still being denied, pending the outcome of the recently launched \$12.6 million VA testing program.

If the study does turn up a link, the number of veterans with service-connected disabilities could soar. It would also tend to support Vietnamese reparation claims and bolster legal suits by veterans against the manufacturers of the chemical and the federal government. Understandably, VA officials don't seem eager to see the veterans proven right.

At the same time Congress has authorized medical care—but not disability status—to the 250,000 military veterans of atmospheric nuclear tests conducted between 1945 and the signing of the Nuclear Test Ban treaty in 1963. The Defense Nuclear Agency, a branch of the Pentagon, is conducting a statistical survey of nuclear veterans, many of whom huddled within a few thousand yards of ground zero. The Defense Department says its records show most veterans received only small doses of radiation and that cancer cases among test veterans are a result of the aging process.

Veterans, in turn, have bitterly criticized the study, and charge the Pentagon with destroying and falsifying data. The National Association of Atomic Veterans recently won the right to comb the government's files, so they can compile their own statistics. They're also demanding more complete studies of the effects of low-level radiation and pressing the VA to give test veterans the benefit of the doubt when it comes to linking their presence at nuclear blasts to later sickness. Of 1,000 veterans' cases heard by the VA so far, only 16 have been decided in favor of veterans and their survivors.

A few weeks ago the VA was accused of ignoring some of the health care needs of its 742,000 female veterans, who make up about 2 percent of the nation's veteran population. Despite an increasing number of women in the armed services, a recent congressional study found a significant proportion of the West Coast VA hospitals sampled did not provide gynecological outpatient treatment, that the VA specifically denied obstetric care to former servicewomen, even if they were pregnant on discharge, and that women were denied treatment at a number of psychiatric and nursing centers because they lacked separate wards and bathrooms.

Liberal and conservative views.

Despite the sharp de-escalation of its rhetoric, the White House seems unlikely to forget the VA budget-issue, if only because the sprawling bureaucracy stands as a glaring rebuke to conservative principles.

A blue-ribbon commission appointed by President Eisenhower in 1956 suggested that the government gradually phase out benefits to both veterans never injured in wartime and those who had been rehabilitated. The expanding welfare state, it was argued in those pre-Great Society days, would provide adequate care for the sick or indigent veterans. Before Ronald Reagan was inaugurated, the ultra-conservative Heritage Foundation—a wellspring of much of the Reagan administration's ideology—suggested that the VA's vast health care empire be sold to private investors. While he was still a congressional aide, David Stockman, who studied theology at Harvard while many of his contemporaries dodged bullets in Vietnam, wrote in *The Social Pork Barrel* published in 1975 that many members of Congress "openly admit to holding their noses when the annual \$12 billion [now \$25 billion] is appropriated for the Veterans Administration, most of which benefits ex-servicemen who do not have

even a hangnail to show for their harrowing experiences in uniform."

Liberal politicians, on the other hand, have little in common with most of the VA's clients, which is reinforced by the political posture of national organizations representing veterans. The VFW, for example, has a long tradition of supporting policies such as massive cuts in welfare programs, huge increases in defense spending and opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. In fact, for the first time in its history the group supported a presidential candidate in 1980—Ronald Reagan. The American Legion, founded after World War I to combat Bolshevism and unions, also is no less right wing.

Liberals have traditionally viewed the VA as preferential welfare for the already privileged—a massive payoff to the Pentagon's largest grassroots constituency.

Yet the VA is still an embarrassment to the ideological right, because despite the denials of its archconservative supporters, it is a welfare program—and a reasonably successful one. Its pension program is better than Social Security's because it provides what is in effect an income floor for the poor, elderly veterans and their families. Its hospital system also focuses on serving the poor. The average VA patient is an elderly man who lives alone and has little or no health insurance. Veterans with insurance tend to prefer private doctors and appear to regard VA hospitals as substandard charity wards.

Eighty percent of all veterans never set foot in a VA hospital, and of those that do, an astonishing 20 percent are admitted for treatment for illnesses related to alcoholism. If the VA system shut down tomorrow, many of its patients would probably drift into the ranks of the homeless on skid rows across the U.S.

Much of the recent criticism of VA hospitals is based on a 1977 study by the National Academy of Sciences, which found the VA saddled with too many beds—especially outside the Sunbelt—and charged it was admitting people who really didn't need treatment. The study also found that VA hospitals held on to patients long after they could have gone home. Elderly veterans who could have received better and less expensive care in nursing homes were being housed in VA hospital wards. The study also criticized the VA for a shortage of outpatient cen-

ters and nursing homes, and criticized the quality of care—especially surgery—at some psychiatric facilities. But on the whole, it found the quality of care equal to, and sometimes better than, hospital care outside the VA.

Despite its shortcomings, the VA's medical care system excels in the one area free-marketeers hold sacred. It has a history of delivering quality medical care more cheaply than the private sector. The 1973 study by Levitan and Cleary found that "VA hospitals evidently provide above-average care to large numbers at low per-diem costs."

Since then, medical costs at VA hospitals have been rising more slowly than at private hospitals. In 1981, for example, the daily cost per patient at private hospitals rose 15.9 percent while the same costs rose only half as much for the VA.

Because the VA delivers quality care at reasonable cost, proponents of a national health insurance system like to point to it as proof that the government could efficiently distribute medical care. They argue that Medicaid and Medicare are more effective at enriching the medical profession than at providing health care to the poor and elderly. They also question whether a separate hospital system for veterans is justified.

Phil Keisling, writing in the March issue of the *Washington Monthly*, suggested that the VA could provide the blueprint for a national health service. Levitan and Cleary concluded that "the VA experience demonstrates that government-run medical care can be efficient, and suggests that free medical care could be successfully delivered to those that need it most."

But given the political climate, any dramatic expansion of the system seems unlikely in the immediate future. Even its survival isn't assured. The VA system is being threatened—not by demographics but by Reaganomics. The White House's massive tax cuts, huge deficits and break-neck military spending have eroded the fiscal ground out from under all the nation's social programs. Ironically, it is up to those conservative veterans' organizations and their political and bureaucratic allies to keep the germinal national health care system alive.

Doug Birch is this year's Robert E. Sherwood fellow of the Columbia University graduate school of journalism.

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

Association for Workplace Democracy
1747 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party-National Office
1623 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party of Illinois
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 332-2066

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20002

The Citizens Party of Minnesota
3255 Hennepin Avenue,
Room 121
Minneapolis, MN 55408
(612) 827-5362

DSA-Democratic Socialists of America (formerly DSOC/NAM)
853 Broadway, Room 801
New York, NY 10003
3244 N. Clark Street
Chicago, IL 60657

29 29th Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

Midwest Academy
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

New Patriot Alliance/DSOL
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

Socialist Party
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201
Milwaukee, WI 53203

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschinot**.

CHICAGO, IL

November 11

Eric Rouleau, Middle East correspondent for *Le Monde*, will speak on "The Political Aspect of the War in Lebanon and the Palestinian Question." 7:30 p.m., Breasted Hall, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1155 E. 58th St. Sponsored by American Friends Service Committee and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies. For more information, call (312) 427-2533.

November 13

A rally marking the eighth anniversary of the

death of Karen Silkwood will begin at 1:00 at Factory and Pomeroy Streets in West Chicago. The rally will demand that all radioactive wastes on the Kerr-McGee property in West Chicago will be removed. For more information, call the Silkwood Day Coalition at 633-1227 or 786-9041.

PHILADELPHIA, PA

November 12-14

The Union for Democratic Communications will explore critical communications issues at its first national conference at International House, 3701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Researchers, media producers, activists and educators will focus on strategies for building a democratic communications future. Topics include: alternative media production and distribution, progressive uses of computing technology, uses of media by labor and education, international communications, and industry structures. Cost: \$25 students/low income, \$40/regular; includes membership and dinner. More information: Janet Wasko, Dept. of Radio-TV-Film, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122. (215) 787-8394.

Devlin

Continued from page 24

back of your hand and until that moment I was perfectly conscious. In my own mind, I know that the British paratroopers were outside the house, that they saw the UDA come in, that they let them come in, that they snaked up behind the shed and that as they were coming out, they just stopped out in front of them and stopped them.

Now the Army says that they were on patrol and that they saw something suspicious and that they came running. There was no running. There was nothing like

that. They stepped out from behind the shed and said "put your hands against the wall." The paratrooper regiment [came in to the house] then went out again and left us lying there. The Argyll Southern Highlanders came about 15, 20 minutes later and organized the helicopter lift.

Did the paratroopers approach you? I was lying on the floor with my head facing the bedroom door and he walked in—a very tall soldier and I sort of had to look over my forehead to see him. He asked me what my name was. This made me incredibly angry...he knew what my name was.

I told him where the children were and I asked him to ring for an ambulance, then remembered [that it wouldn't come

in time] and told him to get a helicopter. And he told me that my telephone was not working. And I asked him had he no radio? And he said his radio was out of order with the frost, which was totally compatible with their having lain out in the frost outside the house all night.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock [the night before we were shot] four paratroopers were dropped in our area and they were never picked up again. They were seen to walk across the bogland [toward our house]. It was a very frosty night, one of the coldest nights of the year.

Do you have any speculation as to the army's complicity?

It's impossible to say. It's one of those things that you don't know. But I believe I have a right to ask questions and that

the state has a responsibility to provide answers and they have consistently refused to do that.

The thing is this...the area was mapped out for different troops and the Argyll South Highland Regiment was responsible for our area, not the paratroopers. Why did the British army lie about it? Why did they create this nonsense about being on routine patrol?

What became of the UDA gunmen involved?

Their trial came up some time ago. They all pleaded guilty, which meant that the story was never told—they never took the stand.

Carolyn Forché is a poet and an Associate of the Center for Investigative Reporting.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

WHAT IS MARXISM? By Bertell Ollman. Here is the short (10 pages), clear, non-vulgar, lively treatment of Marxism, which touches all the main bases, that you always wanted for your class or study group. 50¢ each; prepaid bulk order only; minimum of 10; add \$1 mailing and handling charge for every 10 pamphlets ordered; NY state residents add sales tax. Red Hot Publications, P.O. Box 356, Peck Slip Station, New York, NY 10038.

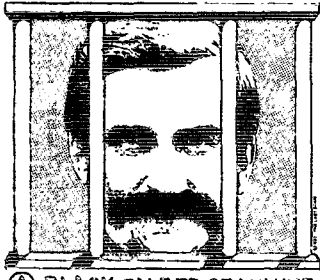
JESUS FICTIONAL! Positive proof Romans (Flavius Josephus) created Christianity. Booklet, \$3.00—Vector, Box 6215-F, Bellevue, WA 98007.

GOING FOR BROKE: THE MILITARY-Industrial Complex and the University. Report on Pentagon/corporate activity at the University of Michigan. Covers military research, high technology, related issues. \$2.25 to Guild House, 802 Monroe, Ann Arbor, MI 48104.

HELP WANTED

PSYCHOTHERAPIST/ORGANIZER, licensed therapist only. Send resume and statement on your approach to therapy, politics and working-class issues. Institute for Labor and Mental Health, 3137 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94609.

IT'S NO JOKE BEING POLISH.



(A) BLACK ON RED OR WHITE



(B) BLACK & RED ON WHITE (SAME AS DESIGN "A" WITHOUT PHRASE AT TOP FULL PICTURE)



(C) RED ON WHITE

SOLIDARNOŚĆ
SHOW YOUR SUPPORT FOR LECH WALSKA AND THE BRAVE PEOPLE OF POLAND. T-SHIRTS \$7.50 EA. POST PAID. S, M, L, XL. 70% COTTON. SEND CERTIFIED CHECK OR MONEY ORDER ONLY. OUR CATALOG IS \$1.00. WE ALSO DESIGN AND PRINT CUSTOMERS.

20 BOX NO. 1271 WARREN MICH. 48050

RANK-AND-FILE LABOR LAW: Impact litigation, counseling, speaking, writing. Low pay, high psychic rewards. Need strong record, demonstrable commitment. Minorities, women encouraged. Impact, P.O. Box 23126, Washington, DC 20024.

TEAMSTERS FOR A DEMOCRATIC UNION, the national rank-and-file movement for reform in the Teamsters Union, is seeking a California-based West Coast Organizer. Responsibilities will include working with chapters of rank and file Teamsters, organizing new chapters, assisting with contract campaigns, labor skills education, etc. Knowledge in labor organizing/education required. Constituency includes truck drivers, warehouse workers, food processing workers and others. Spanish-speaking desired (not required). Hard work, long hours, willingness to travel, many rewards. Salary range: \$10,000 + health insurance. Contact TDU, Box 10128, Detroit, Michigan, 48210 or call (313) 842-2600.

JOB INFORMATION: Overseas, cruise ships, Houston, Dallas, Alaska. \$20,000 to \$60,000/yr possible. Call (805) 687-6000, Ext. J-2440. Call refundable.

SAFE ENERGY COALITION seeks self-starter to help local activists implement media strategy to counter pro-nuclear public relations. Advocacy/organizing background, understanding of energy issues, media skills. \$18K. Resume, references.

MODERN TIMES SAN FRANCISCO'S INDEPENDENT LEFT BOOKSTORE. Stay up-to-date with our bi-monthly capsule reviews of new and interesting books for the progressive reader. Send \$3.00/yr to Modern Times, 968 Valencia St., Box 1, San Francisco, CA 94110. Mail order service also available.

UNITED AUTO WORKERS announce the release of their first record album in almost 20 years

Tom Juravich
RISE AGAIN
Union Songs for the '80s

Send \$7.50 to: Rising Again, UAW Region 9A, 111 South Rd., P.O. Box 432, Farmington, CT 06032

AUTHORS WANTED
BY N.Y. PUBLISHER

Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, juvenile, scholarly and religious works, etc. New authors welcomed. Send for free booklet Z-89. Vantage Press, 516 W. 34th St., New York, N.Y. 10001 U.S.A.

writing sample to Personnel Committee, SECC, 1609 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 by 11/15/82.

THE FLORIDA PUBLIC INTEREST Research Group, one of the fastest growing PIRGs, has three position openings: Staff attorney (\$12,000 + benefits) and project directors in Miami and Boca Raton (\$9,000 + benefits). FPIRG is a statewide organization working on energy, environmental and consumer issues. Send resume and writing sample to FPIRG, P.O. Box U-6367, Tallahassee, FL 32313.

Advertising Director

The full-time position of Advertising Director is now open at In These Times. Responsibilities include supervision of classified, calendar and display advertising departments, active solicitation of display advertising and overall management of financial records. Advertising/business experience preferable; familiarity and compatibility with In These Times principles necessary. Salary \$14-\$15,000/year. Send resume immediately to: Advertising Department, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622 or call (312) 489-4444.

GIFT IDEAS

FREE PEACE CATALOG: Peace-oriented holiday cards, buttons, embroidered patches, labels, and booklets, plus Quaker tea, liberated songbooks, children's stories and more—in the new Kimo Press catalog. Unique, and free: Catalog, P.O. Box 1361, Falls Church, VA 22041.

GIVE IN THESE TIMES this holiday season. Only \$12.95 for the first six

GUILD BOOKS

2456 North Lincoln Avenue
Chicago, IL 60614
New store hours: noon-10:30 p.m.
seven days a week

Literature • History • Politics
Art • Women & Minority Studies
Wide Selection—Periodicals & Records • Books in Spanish
Come in and browse.

CONCERT

TYPOGRAPHERS

"Virtuoso performance on the Compugraphic"

Concert Typographers, an outgrowth of the production department of In These Times, offers quality typesetting, with a quick turnaround time, at low prices. Whatever your needs are—from business cards to book manuscripts—we'll guarantee our work to your satisfaction. All proceeds will go to the continued growth and development of In These Times.

For estimates, references and scheduling, contact: Bill Rehm or Jim Rinnert, Concert Typographers, 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622. (312) 489-4444.

month gift and \$10.95 for the rest. See the ad in this issue for details.

BUTTONS, POSTERS, ETC.

FUNDRAISING ITEMS IN STOCK. Largest variety at lowest prices. We also custom-manufacture union-made buttons and bumperstickers. "The Source" since 1961! Free wholesale catalog. Larry Fox, P.O. Box M-8, Valley Stream, NY 11582. (516) 791-7929.

HEALTH

VILLA VEGETARIANA holistic health retreat, Box 1228, Cuernavaca, Mex.

Position: Staff Attorney

Responsibilities: General caseload but with emphasis in public benefits, housing, education or health.

Qualifications: 2 or more years experience in representation of poor people; Tennessee license or willing to take first Tennessee Bar Examination.

Salary: \$17,000 to \$24,000 DOE
Open immediately: closed upon filling, equal opportunity employer

Send resumes to:
Mr. Paul C. Doyle
Executive Director
Legal Services of Upper East Tennessee, Inc.
325 W. Walnut Street
Johnson City, TN 37601
Phone: 615/928-8311

AUTOS FOR SALE

CARS sell for \$117.95 (average). Also jeeps, pickups. Available at local government auctions. For directory call (805) 687-6000, Ext. 2440. Call refundable.

HOUSING

COMMUNAL GROUP seeks individual or family, 1 hour from Chicago, \$300/month including food. (312) 428-5973. Valley Coop, Dundee, IL 60618.

Global Peace and Awareness

Join hundreds of other year-long exchange volunteers (aged 16-24) in 22 countries around the world working for economic and social justice. For info and application: **International Christian Youth Exchange**, 74 Trinity Place, Room 610-T, NY, NY 10006, (212) 349-3053.

In These Times Classified Ads

Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 67,000 responsive readers each week. (72% made a mail order purchase last year.) ITT classifies deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

60¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
55¢ per word / 3-5 issues
50¢ per word / 6-9 issues
45¢ per word / 10-19 issues
40¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$16 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$15 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$14 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$12 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$10 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Telephone and POB numbers count as two words; abbreviations and zip codes as one. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues are dated on Wednesday.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Advertising, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. (312) 489-4444



T-SHIRTS

I DON'T WANT TO BE PART OF YOUR REVOLUTION

red, tan, purple (50/50) light blue, blue (50/50)

COST: \$6.50 each (postage paid)

SIZES: S/M/L/XL all cotton unless noted

Free catalog available - satisfaction guaranteed

Send **Northern Sun Merchandising**, Box ITT to: 1519 E. Franklin, Minneapolis, MN 55404

THIS SHE HUMANS

SURE, I'M A MARXIST!

red, tan, light blue

you can't hug your kids with nuclear arms

light blue, black

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a former parliament member and a long-time leader of the nationalist movement of Northern Ireland, is currently on a tour of the U.S. and Canada.

In an October 22 election proposed by the British earlier this year, the people of Northern Ireland voted for a new consultative assembly. The assembly is designed to advise the British government on Northern Ireland's affairs, and if its findings are, in the opinion of the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, "representative of both sides of the community," they could eventually become law.

Although both major Catholic parties—the Sinn Féin and the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)—ran candidates in the election, the parties have vowed to abstain from the assembly itself and the candidates have refused to take their newly won seats. Both parties used the election as a show of strength. Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Provisional Irish Republican Army, was running candidates for the first time in an election in Northern Ireland and had great success, earning 40 percent of the vote in some Catholic areas.

But the question now is whether the SDLP—traditionally the party of "moderate nationalists" with a reputation for participation in negotiations and the electoral process—will remain true to its promise to abstain or whether it will go back on its word and legitimize an assembly in which it could never have real power and that seems increasingly dominated by Protestant Ian Paisley's ultra-right Democratic Unionists.

In the weeks prior to the election, I spoke with Bernadette Devlin McAliskey about the election, the political climate in Northern Ireland since the hunger strikes and the January 15, 1981 attack on her life.

According to Devlin, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland James Prior's election was "basically an attempt to defraud, an attempt to create an international impression of stability to attract investment to a chronically unstable area. Although she believed that the people of Northern Ireland would initially give the election and its results a chance to work, she said the new assembly had "all the ingredients of failure built in."

"Whether it is out of frustration, demoralization or complete disillusionment with the politics of constitutional leaders—or whether it's because the unionists attempt to turn the clock back—it [the election of the assembly] will inevitably lead to more disorder and more violence and more struggle," she said.

Devlin had hoped for a SDLP boycott of the election that could lead the way for a boycott by the entire Catholic community in Northern Ireland. She favored a boycott as opposed to post-election abstention because she thought any participation in the election would legitimize the so-called "Prior initiative." A complete boycott of the election would also have insured that the SDLP would not be pressured into participating in the assembly.

What do you see as a viable British proposal?

The British must recognize that central to the solution of the "Irish problem" is the recognition that the "Irish problem" is Britain's insistence on control of all part of our country. The central question has to be the question of British withdrawal and how they are going to

A talk with Bernadette Devlin

She thrives on adversity.

By CAROLYN FORCHE



Photographer unknown

moderate that.

How have the 10 deaths of hunger-striking prisoners a year ago affected the community?

It's been a year of taking stock, and essentially a year of demoralization, as people come to terms with the fact that Britain did let the prisoners die and that the five demands in total were not honored.

What is the current situation in the prisons?

Many of the prisoners are on 23-hour lock-up because they will not participate in the prison work unless they are allowed to participate in the organization's work. The position within the prison has not been resolved really any further than it was in the hunger strike. The question of clothing has been resolved. The prisoners now wear their own clothes.

The whole thing started with the issue of clothing in 1976, when the authorities ordered the prisoners to wear prison uniforms. Once the clothing issue was resolved, everything else fell into place except the question of menial work and education, which hasn't been resolved. And political status has not been granted. To the prisoners, political status was embodied in prison uniform and prison work.

What about the economic situation in the north?

Let's deal with a number of economic myths: it is not true that the "troubles," as they're called, are the cause of unemployment in Northern Ireland. Unemployment, in fact, was partly a cause of the troubles. The biggest employer in Northern Ireland at the present time is security. Our unemployment level would be worse than it is today if people were not employed as security men and women at the doors of shops and as civilian searchers at checkpoints....What causes unemployment here is precisely the relationship this island has with Britain, and therefore in the recession we are subsidiaries, and we get closed down. Every day a factory closes down in Northern Ireland.

You were seriously wounded by Ulster Defense Association (UDA) gunmen in January 1981. I'd like to discuss the peculiar circumstances surrounding it, but first, how are you feeling?

Fine, a bit exhausted. I'm thriving, like wheat—I thrive on adversity.

You and your husband both sustained multiple wounds....

I think it was a freak that we survived. Michael had an artery severed in his arm, and but for the fact that his blood clotted he would have bled to death before the Argyls (the Argyll Southern Highland Regiment of the British Army) came....He was also hit in the stomach and he was hit in the head. [That] bullet was defective...therefore a very small part of it lodged in his skull and the rest broke on impact.

I was shot at a distance of three feet and he never missed me once and every shot was in the body, in what they call the prime target area, and here I am. It's unbelievable. I was hit once in the leg. I took eight bullets, and three more than created flesh wounds.

Was the rumor that you were taken to the hospital by British troops correct? Yes. We were taken by helicopter....Coal Island is rural.

What were they doing in your area? This is the question that nobody has ever answered for me. I was unconscious....I remember going into the operating theater. I remember the anesthetic in the throat.